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Bhandarkar, D. R.

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Annals of The Bhandarkar
Oriental ...

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Vol. X]

[Parts I—II

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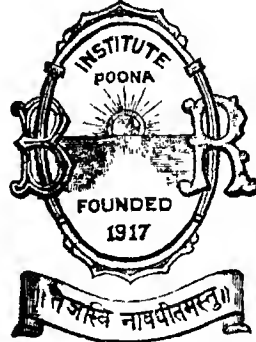
Volume X

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Annals of the BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL Research Institute, Poona

VOL. X]

APRIL 1929

[PARTS I-II

A PREP INTO THE LATER BUDDHISM*

BY

B. BHATTACHARYA, M. A., Ph. D.

Sir Chunilal and Gentlemen,

First of all let me thank you cordially for extending to me an invitation to deliver an address before this meeting, thus giving me an opportunity of visiting the historic city of Poona and of paying my homage to the memory of the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the greatest Orientalist India has ever produced. I only feel sorry that the choice this year should fall on an unworthy person, but all the same I feel greatly honoured by this invitation extended to me on behalf of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute which now stands as one of the greatest centres of Oriental learning and culture in India.

In choosing a subject fitted for this occasion I experienced not a little difficulty, but as I thought scholars in this part of India might be interested in the ancient stories of the people belonging to the other side of India, I preferred to confine myself to the later Buddhism and some topics connected therewith. I feel sure you will be interested in knowing what the people were busy with during the period

*Read at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute on the occasion of the 3rd Anniversary of the death of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar celebrated on 20th August 1928 under the presidency of Sir Chunilal V. Mhatre.

from the 7th to the 12th century of the Christian Era and the trend of thought of the *intelligentsia* of those days. The time at my disposal will, of course, not permit me to go into much detail, and all that I can do here, is to give you a general outline of the whole problem comprising the aims and objects of the people, their peculiar rites and practices, and the relation that existed between the Hindus and Buddhists just before the destruction of Buddhism at the advent of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the 13th century.

It is well known to you that the Mahāyāna Buddhism is entirely different from what Buddha originally taught, but later Buddhism or the Buddhism of the Tāntric period of which I am going to give you an account, is much more different from the Mahāyāna Buddhism—so much so, that if the original Buddhism as taught by the Buddha and the later Buddhism of the Tāntric period are placed side by side, one will be surprised to find not even a remote connection between the two. There were various causes that were operating throughout the succeeding centuries after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha; and I am unable just at the present moment to enumerate and give you a full account of these causes and their effects. You all know the story of how prince Siddhārtha after seeing the Four Visions approached his father with a strange request; 'I want to be a wandering ascetic. The world, O father! is impermanent and transitory.' Buddha took it for granted that all that is contained in the world is impermanent and therefore it is full of misery. He promulgated the noble eightfold path which may give freedom from the miseries of birth and rebirth. *Nirvāṇa*, he taught, was the goal of human life. What the real nature of Nirvāṇa is, what is exactly meant by that can be known by a reference to the *Questions of Milinda* of the 1st century B. C. The same idea was expressed in two very beautiful stanzas by Āśvaghoṣa in his *Saundarānanda Kāvya*, in the latter part of the 1st century A. D. He compared Nirvāṇa to the extinguishing of a lamp. As the lamp is extinguished when there is no more oil, so the man gets Nirvāṇa when he has no more *Kleśa* or suffering. But where does he go? He does not go to the four directions, nor to the four intermediate corners, nor above, nor below; he is simply extinguished. I cannot help quoting the

two stanzas in question, because they bring out very forcibly the Hinayānist idea of Nirvāṇa :—

दीपो यथा निर्वृत्तिमभ्युपेतो
 नैवाऽवर्तिः गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
 दिशं न काञ्चित् विदिशं न काञ्चित्
 स्नेहक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥
 एवं कृती निर्वृत्तिमभ्युपेतो
 नैवावर्तिः गच्छति नान्तरिक्षम् ।
 दिशं न काञ्चित् विदिशं न काञ्चित्
 क्लेशक्षयात् केवलमेति शान्तिम् ॥

One generation after Aśvaghoṣa came in the celebrated Nāgārjuna—famous in the history of Buddhism—as the founder of the Mādhyamaka system of philosophy and the rescuer of the Prajñāpāramitā from the nether regions. In his time people were more speculative and they were not satisfied with the explanation of Nirvāṇa as given in Hinayāna. Nāgārjuna explained the condition of the mind in Nirvāṇa as “Śūnya” and described it as a condition about which neither existence nor non-existence nor a combination of the two nor a negation of the two can be predicated; or, to speak briefly in Sanskrit, which is :

अस्तिनास्तितदुभयातुभयचतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तम् ॥

The same idea is expressed by Advayaśastrya in the 11th century in the following terms :

न सन्नासन्न सदसन्न चाप्यतुभयात्मकम् ।
 चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका विदुः ॥

After Nāgārjuna, came in Maitreya-nātha—the originator of the Yogācāra system. He was not satisfied with the explanation of Śūnya—which as described by the Mādhyamikas is more or less an indescribable condition. He went a step further and wanted to have a positive element in Śūnya. He formulated that even when Nirvāṇa is attained there remains nevertheless a positive element, and that positive element is “Vijñāna”—the most important amongst the five Skandhas—of which the individual is composed. The chain of development for the idea of Nirvāṇa came to a termination in the Tāntric Age when the element of Mahāsukha entered into the conception of Nirvāṇa. People

thought what was the good of living the life of a saint, of foregoing the pleasures of life if after the goal was attained there remained either a questionable existence as formulated in Śūnyavāda or simple Vijñāna as formulated in the Yogācāra? The Mahāsukhavādins satisfied all by holding out a promise that even when the Nirvāṇa is attained there remains something and that something—which is Vijñāna—continues to remain in eternal bliss and happiness. The Śūnya, they said, is Nirātmā and the Bodhicitta or the Bodhi mind, when emancipated, plunges itself in Śūnya or in the embrace of Nirātmā and remains there in eternal bliss and happiness.

Though this new introduction appealed to the advanced Buddhists and new recruits alike, it weakened to a great extent the religion morally, and the degeneration of Buddhism started from this point and developed into what is called the Vajrayāna or the Tāntric Buddhism.

The second factor which led to the degeneration should be looked for from an entirely different direction. It is well-known that the Buddha enjoined a strict discipline on the followers of Buddhism old or new. In the monasteries, of which there were many in his own time, the rules of morality were very strictly imposed on the monks and the nuns alike. Everything that ordinary mortals consider to be enjoyable in this world was forbidden. There were rules for everything—for eating, drinking, sleeping, etc. etc. and the slightest violation of Vinaya rules was punishable. What we call the five *Makāras*¹ were entirely tabooed. In fact, the rules were so strict that the followers of Buddhism could be expected to observe them only for a time and not for centuries after the Mahāparinirvāṇa of Buddha. The rules were attractive in the time of Buddha who could enforce them by his own personality and force of character. But after all, what will be the result? The promised freedom from births and rebirths is only a possibility, and success at best is only questionable. The members of the Church must have re-

1 The five Makāras are Matsya (fish), Māṃsa (meat), Madya (wine) Mudrā (appetiser) and Malthuna (intercourse with women) as is evident from the following — मत्स्यं मांसं तथा मद्यं मुद्रा मैथुनमेव च ।

volted from time to time against these unnatural rules of discipline, and party quarrels on minor points were already in evidence in the second great Council when the Mahāsāṅghikas were expelled from the Church by the Sthaviras who positively refused to make any concession on ten minor points of discipline. Even in the lifetime of Buddha there was a rebellion of this type and the *Vinayapitaka* to-day stands as a witness. There we read of monks who used to send wreaths of flowers to wives, daughters, young women and female slaves, to sit on one seat, and lie on one bed, one mat, one coverlet with the wives, daughters and young women and female slaves, to eat food any time, to drink strong drinks, to dance and play music and all these together in every combination.

Buddha was upset when he heard of this and sent some of his trusted disciples to carry out the order of banishment against them. Thus we can see that rebellion against the rules on broader and more important matters of discipline must have been in existence amongst the monks during the life-time of Buddha and later. But they could not create a party of their own which would be able to withstand the onslaught of the Orthodoxy which was sure to go against them and denounce them as heretics. The Buddhist monks who possessed this type of mentality and saw salvation only in leading a natural life, went on carrying out their object by writing what we call the original Tantras which were handed down by their trusted disciples who could practise the rites only in secret, and secrecy is very necessary as the nature of the five Makāras is such. The Tantras are in the form of Saṃgītis¹ and are said to have been delivered by the Buddha in an Assembly of the Faithful. It is in the Saṃgiti form that all new ideas were introduced into Buddhism; and Saṃgītis, we must remember, were very powerful agencies in the introduction of innovations. The orthodox followers of the faith are sure to challenge anything that has not been said by the Buddha and that seems to be the reason of the great popularity of

¹ Saṃgīti is the name of that Buddhist literature where in the very opening lines Buddha is introduced in an Assembly of the Faithful in monasteries well connected with the life of Buddha. In the Tāntric Saṃgītis, however, Buddha is introduced in an assembly of women.

Saṅgiti literature. This literature was translated wholesale into Tibetan and forms the celebrated Kangyur collection. Thus it is easy to realize how strict disciplinary measures contributed towards the degeneration of Buddhism and the origination of the Tantras.

The third factor which played the part of a contributory cause, to my mind, seems to be the theory of Karuṇā which required that the Bodhisattva should sacrifice everything, his personal happiness and even his own merits and his salvation for the suffering humanity. He must strive for the uplift of mankind until the whole world is liberated, sacrificing everything, himself, his family and his happiness and even salvation, although he is fully qualified. He must work hard through a continuous chain of births and re-births for the emancipation of his fellow beings. This ideal, which is entirely absent in Hinayāna, was probably introduced in the 1st century A. D. in the *Sukkhāvatī Vyūha*,— also known as *Amitāyus Sūtra*, a smaller recension of which was translated into Chinese in the latter part of the 2nd century A. D. The idea was an accomplished fact in the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha*, a work of the 3rd or the 4th century, where we find Avalokiteśvara—the great compassionate Bodhisattva—who refused to accept salvation, though fully entitled to it, until the whole world was free from the grip of suffering. In the *Kāraṇḍa-Vyūha* we find him say that he will assume all possible forms of god-head—even the forms of sovereign, father and mother and sister—in order that he may impart knowledge to the people through these agencies and prepare them for salvation. This idea of Karuṇa is unique in the history of any religion, and Buddhism can very well be proud of this one single conception. This idea of compassion had a widespread circulation amongst the masses who were mostly responsible for the great popularity of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. But this ideal was too much for them. They could neither assimilate it, nor practise it, nor realize its importance. The result was that the vow to emancipate the whole world was turned into a mere convention, and what is worst, the Vajrayānists took shelter under its cover and found in it an excuse for committing acts of great sin and immorality.

Another force which also helped this degeneration of Buddhism is the fondness of Indian people for magic, sorcery and necromancy. Though Buddha was antagonistic to all of sorts of sorcery or magic, he, nevertheless, is credited with having given instructions on *Mudrās*,¹ *Maṇḍalas*,² *Yogas* and *Tantras* so that prosperity in this world by virtue of these could be attained by his less advanced disciples who seemed to care more for this world than for the *Nirvāṇa* preached by him. India in Buddha's time was so steeped in superstition that any religion which dared forbid all kinds of magic, sorcery and necromancy would hardly be able to withstand popular opposition. A clever organiser as the Buddha was, he did not fail to notice the importance of incorporating magical practices in his religion to make it popular from all points of view and thereby attract more adherents, though it does not appear that he himself ever believed in their efficacy. In the *Brahmajāla Sūta* are enumerated a large number of *Vidyās* (Mantras or charms) which are *Tiracchāṇa* or crooked and Buddha condemned them wholesale. Buddha, however, promulgated the doctrine of *Iddhi* or supernatural powers to be obtained by means of four *Iddhipādas*, namely, *Chando*, *Viriyaṃ*, *Cittam*, *Vimāṃsā*. In *Cullavagga* also we find Buddha condemning *Bharadvāja* for wantonly exhibiting his miraculous power to the public for a bowl of sandal wood. Besides these meagre references in Pali literature we have no means to ascertain as to the time of the introduction of the magical practices in Buddhism. But *Śāntaraksita* and his disciple *Kamalaśīla* in the 8th Century A. D. brought out this connection very forcibly in the *Tattvasaṃgraha*³ and its commentary stating fully the reason which made the Buddha to incorporate them in his system. There we read :—

यतोऽभ्युदयनिष्पत्तिर्यतो निःश्रेयसस्य च ।
स धर्म उच्यते तादृक् सर्वैरेव विचक्षणैः ॥
तदुक्तमन्त्रयोगादनियमाद्विधिबद्धतात् ।
प्रज्ञारोग्यविमुक्तादिदृष्टधर्मोऽपि जायते ॥

-
- 1 Mystic poses of fingers which may enable the higher beings (god) to understand the wishes of the worshipper and actuate them to work in accordance with the sign.
 - 2 *Maṇḍalas* are magic circles containing diagrams, or germ syllables or images of the deity and all his companions and paraphernalia.
 - 3 Published as Nos. 30 and 31 in the *Gaekwad Oriental Series*.

Kamalaśīla adds :—

तेन भगवतोक्तश्चासौ मन्त्रयोगादिनियमश्चेति विग्रहः ।

योगः समाधिः । आदिशब्देन मुद्रामण्डलादिपरिग्रहः ।

The Tantras and Mantras have been practised by the Buddhists since the time of the Buddha; but unfortunately we do not possess any connected account of them except a few works on the Dhāraṇīs, which were translated into Chinese early in the beginning of the Christian Era. These Dhāraṇīs are unmeaning strings of words which are said to confer great merit when muttered repeatedly for a number of times. In the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*¹, which formed part of the Vaipulyasūtras and was composed very probably before the 3rd century A. D., we find an overwhelming number of Mudrās, Maṇḍalas, Mantras, Dhāraṇīs and their descriptions. The *Guhya-samāja*,² which comes next and which, I believe, was contemporaneous with Asaṅga, the brother of Vasubandhu (280-360 A. D.), is probably the very first systematic Tantra promulgating the doctrine of the five Dhyaṇī Buddhas, as presiding over the five Skandhas, and introducing the worship of Śakti for the first time in Buddhism. The *Guhya-samāja* is considered extremely sacred even now amongst the Mahāyāna Buddhists as one of the Navadharmas³ of Nepal. This Tantra was handed down in secret from Gurus to disciples for about 300 years, and it got publicity in about the 7th century through the agencies of Siddhacāryas⁴ and Vajracāryas⁵ like Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Padmavajra, Anāṅgavajra and so forth, almost all of whom wrote commentaries on this great work.

1 Published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series.

2 In the course of publication in the Gaekwad Oriental Series.

3 Nine Sacred books of the Mahāyāna Buddhism are known as Navadharmas, which includes among others the Svayambhū Purāṇa, Dharma Purāṇa, Laṅkāvatāra etc.

4 They are altogether 84 in number, and are said to have attained superhuman powers. They performed many wonderful feats and showed miracles. A life of the Siddhas is published in German by A. Grundwedel in the *Baessler Archiv*.

Well known preceptors of Vajrayāna.

All these forces combined together brought about the degeneration in Buddhism in later times, and the result was Vajrayāna or the Adamant Vehicle which was so called, because it was based on Śūnyavāda—not the Śūnya of the Madhyamakas but the Śūnya of the Vajrayānists with the three elements, Śūnya, Vijñāna and Mahāsukha. They gave the name Vajra to this kind of Śūnya, as is evident from the following formula :

दृढं सारमसौशीर्यमच्छेद्याभेदलक्षणम् ।

अदाहि अविनाशि च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते ॥

In addition to what the Vajrayānists got from Buddhism itself, they could not help incorporating the idea of god-head in their religion, in imitation of the Purāṇas, as the conception of gods and goddesses, as given in the Purāṇik literature, proved very attractive to them. When they actually took this idea, they deified all important personalities in Buddhism and a large number of Buddhist philosophical ideas and concepts adding a few purely Hindu gods like Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī, &c.

In Vajrayāna easy methods leading to happiness in this world were held out to the people. Easy paths leading to salvation were shown. Great parade was made of the merits to be gained by the repetition of the Mantras, Dhāraṇīs, panegyrics and worship of gods. But everywhere any casual reader can detect on the part of the authors to thwart all unnatural rules and regulations imposed on the followers. The disciplinary regulations gradually slackened down one after another, and ultimately, when the Vajrayānists gained much in power and got an overwhelming majority, a general revolution was declared against the Mahāyāna Orthodoxy, which in course of time dwindled to nothingness, as it was powerless to fight the growing disorder amongst the Tāntrics. The followers of the Vajrayāna were, however, conscious that they were doing something which was against religion and morality, and covert hints to justify their actions are not altogether infrequent in their literature. As I told you, they took shelter under the theory of Karuṇā and held that there is nothing that cannot be done by one who has sacrificed everything for the emancipation of the world.

बोधिचित्तं समुत्पाद्य संबोधौ कृतचेतसा ।

तन्नास्ति यन्न कर्तव्यं जगदुद्धरणाशये ॥

As pointed out already, the vow to emancipate the world was reduced by the Vajrayānists to a mere convention ; and though every one has to express this pious wish, indulgence in all actions for which common men are ordinarily doomed to hell, was the only thing practised by them to attain Siddhi. They boldly declared :—

कर्मणा येन वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिशतान्यपि ।

पच्यन्ते नरके घोरे तेन योगी विमुच्यते ॥

In another authoritative Tāntric work we meet with a still bolder declaration :

संभोगार्थमिदं सर्वं त्रैधानुकर्मशेषतः ।

निर्मितं वज्रनाथेन साधकानां हिताय च ॥

“These three worlds as a whole have been created by Vajra-nātha for the enjoyment and good of all worshippers.”

In Vajrayāna, contrary to our expectations, we find a complete metamorphosis of the Buddhist conception of Prajñāpāramitā. Anāṅgavajra, who flourished in the beginning of the 8th century, advised—

प्रज्ञापारमिता सेव्या सर्वथा मुक्तिकाङ्क्षिभिः ।

परमार्थे स्थिता शुद्धा संबुद्धा तनुधारिणी ॥

ललनारूपमास्थाय सर्वत्रैव व्यवस्थिता ।

The Mantras or mystic syllables constitute the backbone of Tāntric worship. I cannot help, therefore, dilating this point for some time. It is not possible to say how Mantras were introduced into Buddhism. The Vedic Mantras had their meanings ; but the Mantras which were taken into Vajrayāna are, in most cases, meaningless strings of words sometimes giving absolutely no sense. In several instances the Vajrayānists attempted to trace the origin of certain Mantras which point unmistakably to Buddha himself as their originator. The Mantras of Vajrayāna seem to be a development of the Dhāraṇīs contained in such works as *Vidyādharaṇī* to which a reference has been made by *Hsien Tsang*. These Dhāraṇīs, according to *Kern*, existed in

Buddhism from very ancient times and seemed to have been introduced into it for the benefit of the less advanced followers who did not care so much for their Nirvāṇa as they did for their material prosperity in this world. Such recruits to Buddhism were enjoined to read some of the Sūtras which however proved to be beyond their intelligence; for their benefit the Sūtras had to be shortened into Dhāraṇīs and they were required to commit them to memory. This seems to be the process in which the Sūtras underwent a change in very ancient time; and ultimately, when they were further reduced, they gave rise to Mantras. Take, for instance, the example of the *Āṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which in itself is too stupendous for any tolerably learned Buddhist to read through and understand, not to speak of the illiterate mass who were mostly responsible for the great popularity of Mahāyāna. They cannot indeed read this vast literature for acquiring merit. *Prajñāpāramitā* of 8000 was reduced to 100 stanzas in the form of *Śataślokiprajñāpāramitā*, and ultimately to a very few stanzas which became known as *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdayasūtra* and this was further reduced to make room for the *Prajñāpāramitā Dhāraṇī* in a few lines. The next chain in the evolution is the formation of the *Prajñāpāramitā Mantra* in a few syllables, which makes its appearance in the *Sādhana-mālā*; and this again led to the conception of her Bija in one syllable 'Pram' in response to which the Śūnya may transform itself in the form of the goddess *Prajñāpāramitā*. The origin of the Tāntric Mantra, thus, can be traced through successive stages of the Buddhist literature. When, however, we turn our attention to the Hindu literature, we are surprised to find that the Tāntric Mantras suddenly make their entry in the Hindu Tāntric literature, without showing even a faint trace of the earlier and crude stages of development. To my mind this seems to be a sufficient reason for believing the Hindu Tāntric system to be later than the Buddhist Vajrayāna and for holding that they were incorporated into Hinduism bodily from Buddhism.

In the *Sādhana-mālā* there is ample evidence to show that several Mantras were delivered by Buddha himself: e. g.

प्रज्ञापिसाधनमिदं ह्युक्तोपदिष्टं ।

स्वाहान्तः कथितः स एव ह्यगतेर्मन्त्रः कवित्वादिवः ।

कथयामि शतुर्थं च यथा बुद्धेन भाषितम् ॥

Sāntaraksita also clearly attributes the introduction of the Mantras and Maṇḍalas to Buddha himself. It is very likely, therefore, that he introduced into his religion some sort of mysticism which in later times, owing to a variety of influences, developed into full-fledged mystic system in the form of Vajrayāna. The Vajrayānists maintained that the mantras are endowed with great powers and blindly believed in them. In the *Sūdhanamūlā* passages showing this blind faith on their part are too frequent and eloquent. In one place it is said : what is there impossible for the Mantras to perform if they are applied according to rules?¹ In another place it is said that through the repeated mutterings of the Mantra so much power is generated that it can astonish the whole world². The merits that accrue from the mutterings of the Mantra of Mahākāla are so numerous that all the Buddhas taken together cannot count them even if they were to count, without cessation, for a number of days and nights. It is also said that by the Dhāraṇī of Avalokiteśvara even an ass can keep 300 stanzas in memory. The Mantra of Ekajātā is said to be so powerful that the moment it is uttered a man becomes free from danger, he is always followed by good fortune, his enemies are all destroyed and without doubt he becomes as pious as the Buddha. Examples of this kind can easily be multiplied. But lest the people prove doubting, they say the power of the mind is extraordinary and one should not doubt the efficacy of the Mantras.

संशयो नेह कर्तव्यो विचित्रा भावहाक्तयः ।

The Mantras were considered most sacred by the Vajrayānists and their accuracy was jealously guarded by them in much the same way as the purity of the Vedic Mantras was preserved by means of several devices. These Mantras are composed usually in ordinary prose, but occasionally in an enigmatic language, the meaning of which sometimes becomes difficult to understand.

1 किमस्यसाध्यं मन्त्राणां योजितानां यथाविधि ।

2 विश्वविस्मापने शक्तिरस्माद्व्योपजायते ।

These Mantras are also done into mnemonic verses for the obvious purpose of memorising. These verses are curious and convey practically no meaning to an ordinary reader. Let us take, for instance, the verse :—

आदी चक्रधरस्ततः पितृसुगात् प्रज्ञान्वितो वर्धनि
तस्माच्च ज्वलसुगमस्य च परे मेधा परे वर्धनि ।
एतस्माच्चरमं धिरिद्वयमतो बुद्धिस्तथा वर्धनि
स्वाहान्तः कथितः स एव सुगतेर्मन्त्रः कवित्वादिभूः ॥

At first sight it gives no meaning unless you know that it is the statement of the Mantra done into verse which, when translated, will give the following queer meaning :—

“In the beginning there is Cakradhara who is followed by two Picus and Vardhani joined with Prajñā ; after that there are two Jvalas which are followed by Vardhani after Medhā ; even at the end there are two Dhiris, Buddhi and Vardhani ending in Svāhā. This Mantra which has the power to confer the cleverness of a poet was introduced by the Sugata”. So the above is nothing but the statement of the Mantra of Vajravipā-Sarasvatī which runs as :—

ॐ पितु पितु प्रज्ञावर्धने ज्वल ज्वल मेधावर्धने धिरि धिरि बुद्धिवर्धने स्वाहा ।

Another example of a similar nature is represented by the Bija-Mantra of Sarasvatī which is described in the Sādhana-mālā as—

सहस्रस्य द्वितीयस्थमष्टमस्य चतुर्थकम् ।
प्रथमस्य चतुर्थेन क्षितिं तत् सविन्दुकम् ॥

“It stands on the 2nd syllable of the 7th and is the 4th of the 8th ; it is accompanied by the 4th of the 1st and is decorated with the spot.” The explanation seems to be: the 2nd syllable of the 7th class (Antahstha) is R ; 5th of the 8th (Ūṣma) is H ; 4th of the 1st (Svara) is Ī ; the spot is M̐ ; and, therefore, the resultant Bija is H R Ī M̐ (ह्रीं).

From this atmosphere of mysticism and charms let us pass on to another phase of Vajrayāna, namely, its Pantheon. I shall not discuss here the question how image worship or conception of deities entered into Vajrayāna, but I shall here attempt to repudiate the charge of idolatry occasionally levelled at the later

Buddhism. The Pantheon of the Buddhists is extraordinarily extensive and varied in character. At the head of the Pantheon is Vajradhara from whom are originated the five Dhyāni Buddhas presiding over the five Skandhas or elements—Rūpa, Vedanā, Saṃjñā, Saṃskāra and Vijñāna. They are named as Amitābha, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Vairocana and Amoghasiddhi. When represented they appear all alike and are distinguished only by their colour and their Mudrā. The following verse gives the name, Mudrā and colour of each.

जितो वैरोचनः ख्यातो रत्नसंभव एव च ।
 अमिताभामोघसिद्धिरक्षोभ्यश्च प्रकीर्तितः ॥
 वर्णा अमीषां सितः पीतो रक्तो हरितमेचकौ ।
 बोध्यङ्गि वरदो ध्यानं मुद्रा अभयभृत्पुंशौ ॥

These Dhyāni Buddhas are associated with a Śakti each, through whom innumerable Bodhisattvas are brought forth into existence. The Śaktis are five in number and are known as Buddhaśaktis. They are named as Locanā, Māmaki, Tārā, Paṇḍārā and Āryatārā. The principal Bodhisattvas attached to the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their Śaktis are : Padmapāṇi, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Cakrapāṇi or Sāmantabhadra and Viśvapāṇi. Besides these, innumerable Bodhisattvas and Śaktis originate from the Dhyāni Buddhas. These Bodhisattvas when represented on stone, metal and paintings are required to hold, in a most interesting way, a miniature figure of their parental Dhyāni Buddha on their head ; and in fact, by observing this miniature figure one can at once say that the image must be of Buddhist origin. The Dhyāni Buddha, his Śakti and the Bodhisattvas emanating from them constitute the family or *Kula* of each. There are, thus, altogether five *Kulas*. Those who worship them are called Kaulikas and the very worship is known as Kulasevā.

The Vajrayānists cannot be idolators, because to them the deities have no real existence. The images of gods have no real existence. It is well known that in Yogācāra the phenomenal world has no existence. The body with the sense organs is unreal. The noumenon is Śūnya, which together with Karuṇā constitutes the Bodhicitta. The Bodhi mind then is a reality. In fact, it has the same reality as that of Śūnya, and beyond the

mind there is nothing in this external world, which is only created by the mind owing to its impure tendencies and their accumulations through a number of births. The external world is more or less like a city seen in a dream or an eluding mirage seen in the desert. Even the body being external does not exist and has no reality. To the followers of Vajrayāna, how can there be any reality in an image, a grossly external object, to which worship may be offered? In fact, the image has no existence. The deity which the image represents is an embodiment of Śūnya. Śūnya is invoked for a variety of purposes, and in accordance with the Bijamantra uttered, Śūnya transforms itself into a deity with which the mind of the worshipper is identified. Thus we find—

शून्यताबोधितो बीजं बीजाद्विम्बं प्रजायते ।

विम्बे च न्यासविन्यासस्तस्मात्सर्वं प्रतीत्यजम् ॥

“From the right perception of Śūnyatā comes the germ-syllable. From the germ-syllable comes the conception of an Icon and then the external representation of the deity. Therefore they are dependent in their origination.”

Advayaavajra also in a very characteristic stanza says :—

स्फूर्तिश्च देवताकारा निस्स्वभावा स्वभावतः ।

यथा यथा भवेत्स्फूर्तिः सा तथा शून्यतात्मिका ॥

“The deities are manifestations of Śūnya and are by nature non-existent. Wherever there is manifestation it must be Śūnya in essence.”

There is an impression that the Buddhists were always very friendly towards the Hindus and Hinduism. It is also generally believed that the Hindus always persecuted the Buddhists, so much so, that owing to their persecutions Buddhism vanished from the soil of India. To my mind this does not appeal. Whatever may be the cause, there is no doubt that the Buddhists were aggressively hostile to the Hindus and their religion in later times. They criticised severely the doctrines of the Hindus, attacked their caste-system, insulted the Hindu gods and, in fact, did everything that is far from being friendly. The *Sādhana-mālā* is replete with examples of this kind. Every one knows how

in *Vajrasūci* the caste-system is condemned, how the theory of Jāti is criticised in the *Tatvasaṃgraha* and how in the commentary of the *Dohakoṣa* of Saroruhavajra the Vedas, the Brahmans, the Kṣāṇakas and Śrāvakas are held up to ridicule. In the *Sādhana-mālā* we find, for instance, a description of Hariharivāhanodbhava, a form of Avalokiteśvara—the all compassionate Bodhisattva riding on Viṣṇu to whom the dignified position of a Vāhana is given. Again, while describing Mārīci the principal Hindu gods are brought to the humiliating position of making obeisance to her. Some of them are actually trampled under her feet, while others obey her orders like servants. Uchoṣṭha Jambhala is described as pressing Kubera under his feet so as to make him vomit jewels. The severed head of Brahmā is carried by Mārīci, Vajrasarasvatī, Prasannatārā, and several others. Trailokyavijaya tramples upon the head of Śiva and the bosom of Gaurī. Prasannatārā is described as trampling upon Indra and Upendra and pressing Brahmā and Rudra between two legs. Paramāśva is described as four-legged, trampling with the first right leg on Indrāṇi and Lakṣmī, with the second on Rati and Pṛīti, with the first left on Indra and Madhukara, and with the second on Jayakara and Vasanta. Aparājītā is described as a goddess whose parasol is raised over her head by the angry and mischievous gods like Brahmā and others.

While describing the merits and advantages to be gained by worshipping Hayagrīva, the author of a Sādhana holds before us an extremely attractive picture but not without calumniating a number of Hindu gods. When perfection is attained in the Sādhana, the ascetic is said to repair to the Vidyādhara land and enjoy all sorts of pleasures. Devendra becomes his parasol-bearer, Brahmā his minister, Vemacitrī his general and Hari his gatekeeper. All gods flock together, and Śaṃkara, the nude preceptor, lectures on the different virtues. These are some of the instances met with in writing where Hindu gods are insulted and made subservient to Buddhist gods. In practice also they did the same. A large number of images were carved where Hindu gods were represented in stone and metal as humiliated by Buddhist gods. Gaṇeśa, for instance, was designated as *Vighna* or obstacle personified. The Buddhists conceived of a god, in *Vighnāntaka*—the Vanquisher

of Ganeśa and represented him as trampling upon the prostrate form of Ganeśa. Indra was made almost a professional parasol-bearer and was represented as holding a parasol over the head of several Buddhist deities.

I do not, however, want to create an impression that the Buddhists were never persecuted by the Hindus, but such persecutions were mostly of a political nature.

The Buddhists were hostile towards some of the pet theories of salvation and this is conclusively proved by a very interesting passage in the *Cittaśodhanaprakaraṇa* of Āryadeva. The passage in question contains a scathing indictment of the Hindu belief that bathing in holy places can confer merit, and proves its futility in forcible but unequivocal language :

प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वा शुद्धिमर्हति ।
तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्फलम् ॥
धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्त्तानां कृतार्थता ।
नक्तंदिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनां तु का कथा ॥
पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
यतो रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसेविनाम् ॥

"A dog swimming in the Ganges is not considered pure; therefore, bathing in holy places is futile for pious men. If bathing can confer merit, the fishermen must be meritorious, not to speak of fish and other aquatic animals who are always in water day and night. It is certain that by bathing even sin is not dissipated, because people who are in the habit of making pilgrimages are full of passion, hatred and other vices."

It is a matter of satisfaction, however, that the Hindus never retaliated in this fashion but accepted Buddha as one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and introduced many Buddhist deities into their own pantheon.

Having given you an idea of the relation that existed between the Hindus and the Buddhists in the Tāntric age, let me now turn my attention to another phase of Vajrayāna and characterize the aims and objects of its followers. The ultimate aim of Tāntric worship seems to be different Siddhis—the possession of one or the other of which entitles an ascetic to be called a Siddha or a magician. The word Siddhi may be defined as the attainment

of superhuman power of the mind, body or the sense organs. The Siddhis are generally known to be of five varieties : (1) Janmaja, co-existent with birth ; (2) Ausadhija, the result of drugging ; (3) Mantraja, due to the agency of magic syllables ; (4) Tapoja, due to austerities and (5) Samādhija, due to intense meditation. The mind is compared to a river in the rainy season with all exits closed except one through which water rushes with tremendous vigour. When mind in the same way is concentrated on one particular thought, it is able to acquire great strength which we call Siddhi or perfection. Siddhis are of various kinds and range from success in love affairs to the attainment of the highest emancipation, but the Siddhis with which we are concerned in the Tāntric literature owe their origin to Mantras.

In the Tāntric literature of the Buddhists great anxiety is shown for averting and curing diseases and for the extraction of snake-poison. Next in importance to the above is the longing for acquiring knowledge of the Śāstras without studying but only through the agency of the Mantras. The Vajrayānists also showed a great desire to have the mighty Hindu gods as their servants whom they believed to be conquerable by Mantras and willing to do menial work for the Magician. They were also prepared to attain omniscience and emancipation through the agency of the Mantras alone. Curiously enough, the aid of the Mantras was widely availed of by the Vajrayānists in vanquishing their opponents in public discussions. From this it appears clear that religious discussions in public assemblies were common and victory in these assemblies was eagerly sought for by all classes of people including the Buddhists and it is no wonder that gods and Mantras were invented in order that the Sādhaka may easily obtain victory in learned discussions without being qualified for it. This leads us to believe in the stories recorded in the Tibetan *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zan*, that in public assemblies disputants of different religious sects used to assemble and take part, each one staking his own religion. Thus people were converted and reconverted to different religions. It is strange that in spite of acquiring such spiritual powers the monks were habituated to go out for alms, as is evident from the devices invented by them which miraculously

induced people to offer alms of their own accord. The conception of future happiness was also of a strange character. In one of the Sādhanaś a wish is expressed for a Siddhi, which will enable the worshipper to remain in a state of rapture in the company of Apsarasas, in the land of the Vidyādharaś, where the principal gods of the Hindus will act as parasol-bearer, councillor, army commander and gate-keeper. The monks usually led a poor life, but they were nevertheless anxious for wealth and believed that wealth could be obtained by the muttering of Mantras alone. Jambhala, the God of Wealth, was created by them with different forms and Mantras and a large number of Sādhanaś for his worship. These and similar instances are an evidence of the attraction the poor monks had for wealth.

The Buddhist acknowledged eight great Siddhis which are different from the eight Siddhis of the Hindus. Their Siddhis are named as: (1) Khadga (2) Añjana (3) Pādalepa (4) Antardhāna (5) Rasarasāyana (6) Khecara (7) Bhūcara (8) Pātāla. It is difficult to get an explanation of the nature of these perfections from any Buddhist work, but evidently the first signifies the perfection which enables a man to conquer a battle with the help of a sword on which Mantras have been muttered. The second evidently means the magic unguent which enables its user to perceive the treasures buried under the earth or otherwise hidden from the eyes. The third represents the mysterious ointment which when applied to the legs enables a man to move about everywhere without his body being perceived by anybody. The fourth, similarly, refers to the mysterious power which enables a man to disappear miraculously before the very eyes of the people. The fifth refers probably to the magic solution which turns baser metals into gold or the medicine that gives immunity from death. The sixth is the power which enables one to move in the firmament, the seventh refers to the power of moving at will anywhere in this world in a moment, and the eighth refers to the power of going to the nether regions. Such feats were considered superhuman and the monks of the Tāntric Age directed their attentions to executing such superhuman feats through the agency of the Mantras, which, they thought, helped to develop psychic powers,

The old monks also busied themselves among others with what is technically called the *Ṣaṭkarma* or the Six Cruel Rites comprising *Śānti*, *Vaśikaraṇa*, *Stambhana*, *Vidveṣaṇa*, *Uccāṭaṇa* and *Māraṇa*. The first rite is the one which is calculated to remove diseases and save men from terrible consequences of evil stars or of bad actions done in previous births. The second is *Vaśikaraṇa*, which when performed gives the performer the power to bewitch all other men or women or even animals or gods and get work done by them. The third *Stambhana* confers the power to stop all actions of others and to stop the effect even when the cause is operating. Thus the burning power of fire can be stopped so that even if fire be there it will not burn. It is the rite by which all actions of human beings can be stopped at will. The fourth *Vidveṣaṇa*, is another interesting rite, which gives the power to separate two friends, relatives and lovers from each other. The fifth *Uccāṭaṇa*, is the rite which confers power to make an enemy flee the country with all attendant disgraces. *Uccāṭaṇa* was also employed in destroying the dwelling houses of enemies by incantation of Mantras and by other means. The sixth is *Māraṇa*, which is perhaps the most cruel among the six cruel rites of *Tāntrism*. This consists of killing enemies by means of apparently harmless practices. From what has just been said above you will have a clear idea of the rites and practices which kept the old monks always busy.

We will now pass on to the more instructive phase of the Buddhist Tantras, namely the light they throw on the question of priority of one over the other of the two great *Tāntric* schools, Hindu and Buddhist. For this a comparative study is necessary; but before I open the topic I may tell you that my study of the *Tāntric* literature for the last ten years has convinced me that in the matter of *Tāntrism* the Buddhists took the lead and that the Hindu Tantras are much later than the Buddhist Tantras. It is therefore not correct to say that the Buddhist Tantras were an outcome of *Śaivism*; I should rather assert on the contrary that the Hindu Tantras were baser imitations of the Buddhist Tantras, and were very probably incorporated into Hinduism in order to

counteract the influence of the Buddhists on the minds of people. Let me show how this position is tenable.

It is well known that the Hindus recognize a set of ten Siddhamantras with ten deities presiding over them. One of them is Tārā and the Hindus claim her as their own. She is conceived as a fearful divinity with legs arranged in the Pratyālīḍha¹ attitude with a garland of skulls, protruding tongue and bare fangs. She is four-armed and carries the Kartri² and the Kapāla³ in the two principal hands, and the sword and the blue lotus in the right and left hands respectively. She is decked in five Mudrās (pañcamudrāvibhūṣitām) with one tuft of hair (ekajātāḥ) and bears the figure of Akṣobhya on her crown (maulāv-akṣobhya-bhūṣitām). For the purpose of comparison the last three points should be carefully noted.

The Hindus have no deity known as Ekajāṭā, but they have this Tārā who is regarded as a form of Ekajāṭā. They have a variety of Mudrās⁴, but none can be employed as an ornament. No other deity of the Hindu Pantheon is known to have the figure of Akṣobhya or any other deity on the crown. None of the three points raised therefore is explained in accordance with Hindu traditions.

But when we try to explain the three points with the help of Buddhist traditions we find a satisfactory explanation. The Buddhists have a deity known as Ekajāṭā also called Ugratārā, Mahācinatārā, Vidyujjvālākarālī, Prasannatārā, etc. and quite a large number of Sādhanaś are dedicated to her worship. Out of

1 The attitudes of Ālīḍha and Pratyālīḍha signify the well-known archer's attitude of standing with one leg stretched forward and the other slightly bent. When the right leg is outstretched and the left bent it is called Ālīḍha; its opposite is Pratyālīḍha.

2 Knife with a handle and a blade which looks like a saw. Used for chopping flesh.

3 Kapāla is usually a skull cup. It also signifies a severed human head. The skull cup contains human blood.

4 Mudrā may mean 'a coin', or 'symbol'. In Tāntric usage it is 'an appetiser' for more wine, really 'a woman', and generally the Mystic pose of hands.

these the form known as Mahācinatārā agrees with the description of the Hindu Tārā in all details. Yet Tārā is Hindu and Mahācinatārā is Buddhist.

As regards the second point concerning the ornament of five Mudrās the *Sādhanamālā* offers a solution. The Buddhists recognized six Mudrās or ornaments all made of human bones representing the six Pāramitās, as is evident from the following śloka-

काण्डिका रुचके रत्नमेखलं भस्मसूत्रकम् ।
षट् वे पारमिता एता मुद्रारूपेण योजिताः ॥

"The Torque, the (two) Bracelets, a bejewelled girdle, ashes and the sacred thread represent the six Pāramitās and are applied in the form of Mudrās." It may therefore be inferred that the adjective 'pañcamudrāvibhūṣitām' stands for a goddess with five ornaments (made of human bones). The third point of having Akṣobhya on her crown can be easily explained by a reference to the Buddhist Iconography. Tārā belongs to the family or *Kula* of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya, and therefore, according to the canons of Buddhist Iconography, she should bear the miniature figure of her parental Dhyani Buddha.

These facts will amply prove that Tārā of the Hindus really represents the Mahācinatārā of the Buddhists who is regarded as one of the emanations of the Dhyāni Buddha Akṣobhya. The *Sādhana* of Mahācinatārā was composed by Śāśvatavajra, whose time is unknown, but as his name appears in a Ms. which was written in 1165 A. D. his time cannot be later than 1100 A. D. The deity Ekajātā was introduced from the country of Bhōṭa by Nāgārjuna who flourished most probably in the middle of the 7th century A. D.

Some of the Hindu Tantras also unmistakably show the Buddhist origin of Tārā. In the *Tārātantra* it is said that Vasiṣṭha got this Mantra from Buddha when he was in Cinabhūmi. In the *Rudrayāmala* we read of Vasiṣṭha coming to Cinabhūmi to take initiation from Buddha and obtain Siddhi by free use of the five Makāras. The *Brahmayāmala* also repeats the same story where Buddha is found in Cinabhūmi in the company of numberless women and in a deeply drunken state. Because of this

Vasiṣṭha had great doubts which were cleared up by the Buddha and he eventually obtained perfection. In Hinduism the *Rudrayāmala* and *Brahmayāmala* are regarded as Tantras of the highest authority. The evidence of these two Hindu works leads us to suppose that the Hindus got the Vidyā from the Buddhists.

It should be borne in mind that old Tāntrics looked upon the accuracy of the Mantras with superstitious awe and dared not change or distort them, as they thought the process would involve great harm. Thus, though the name Mahācīnatārā was changed by the Hindus to Tārā and her Dhyāna from ungrammatical Buddhist Sanskrit to grammatical, the Mantra remained the same in both: Hṛīm Trīm Hūm Phaṭ.

Taking the similarity of Mantras as a guiding factor, let us proceed to examine another deity Chinnamastā or Vajrayoginī claimed as their own by the Hindus and the Buddhists alike. This deity stands in the Pratyālīḍha attitude, the head is severed from the neck and is carried by her in her left hand. She is accompanied by two Dākinīs one on either side. From the severed neck issue forth streams of blood, one falling into the mouth of the severed head and two others into the mouths of the two Dākinīs. The principal deity and the two companions all carry the Kartri and the severed head in their hands.

Quite naturally the Mantra of Vajrayoginī is stated in Buddhist literature as :—

ओं ओं ओं सर्वबुद्धाकिनीये वज्रवर्णनीये वज्रवैरोचनीये हूं हूं हूं फट् फट् फट् स्वाहा ।

In the Mantra the three Om letters are given to the three deities, so also the three Hūm letters and the three Phaṭs. The principal deity in the Mantra is called Sarvabuddhaḍākinī while the companions are called Vajravarnānī and Vajravairocanī. The prefix *Vajra* shows that they belonged to Vajrayāna. The name Sarvabuddhaḍākinī and the prefix *Vajra* show clearly the Buddhist character of the Mantra and consequently of the deity Vajrayoginī, the Śakti of Heruḱs, also called Sarvabuddha as he is the embodiment of the five Dhyānī Buddhas. In Hindu literature

the principal deity is named Chinnamastā and the companions as Varnanī and Dākinī. The Mantra in the *Tantrasūtra* runs as—

ओं सर्वसिद्धिर्जननी सर्वसिद्धिदाकिनी वज्रवेरोचनी etc.

and in the *Chinnamastūkālpa* as :

ओं वज्रवेरोचनी सर्वसिद्धिदाकिनी वज्रवेरोचनी हूं हूं फट् स्वाहा ।

Unfortunately for us these Mantras are not preserved in their pristine purity in the Hindu Tāntric Mss. and they must have been distorted from copy to copy owing to the ignorance of the copyists. From the evidence of the *Chinnamastūkālpa*, however, it is quite clear that the word *Sarvabuddhi* in the Mantra stands for the original *Sarvabuddha*, and if that position is accepted, there remains very little to show that the origin of the Mantra is Buddhist. The prefix *Vajra* also in a Hindu Mantra lends an additional support to this conclusion.

I have shown enough to justify my drawing the attention of scholars to this fascinating branch of study which may at first seem very uninteresting but is likely to yield great historical information, because we must not forget that the cultural history of India for the whole of the Tāntric period from the 7th century A. D. to the advent of the Muhammadans in India is locked up in this mass of uninteresting and apparently much neglected and much hated literature of Tāntrism.

INDIAN STUDIES

No. I

SLOW PROGRESS OF ISLAM POWER IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

PROF. D. R. BHANDARKAR, M. A., Ph. D.

PART I

The history of India may be divided into three main periods represented by (1) Ancient or Hindu India, (2) Mediaeval or Muhammadan India, and (3) Modern or British India. One special characteristic of the first of these periods is the hinduisation of all the foreign tribes that poured into India. These were the Yavanas, the Sakas, the Palhavas, the Kusanas, the Hūpas, the Gurjaras and so forth, who, hardly before a century had elapsed since their penetration into this country, gradually assimilated the Hindu civilization, by adopting Hindu names and Hindu religions, and were completely lost into the Hindu population. It is not correct to say, as some historians have done, that these were all barbarian hordes who were possessed of hardly any culture or religion of their own, and that it was therefore no wonder if they imbibed that of India which was of a superior order, and became Hindus. Of these tribes there are at least the Gurjaras (Khazars), the Maitrakas (Medes) and the Yavanas (Greeks) who can scarcely be classed as barbarians. It is true that the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras adopted Hindu names and Hindu faiths and became fast hinduised, but it must not be thought that they in turn did not exert any kind of influence on the Hindu culture and civilisation. The modern worship of the Sun, such as that set forth in the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, is a foreign importation, because the god is dressed like a northerner and his waist girdled with *aspeniga*, the Avestan *Aiwaonghan*, and his priests are the Magas from the Śakadvīpa, that is, doubtless the Magians. This was evidently a Magian cult, for the introduction of which the Maitrakas or Medes must have been responsible. Similarly, the Gurjaras or

Khazars gave India a type of coins called *dirham* or *dramma*, which was prevalent in West India upwards of four centuries. When these foreign tribes thus influenced the Indian civilization, they can scarcely be branded as uncivilised. And even if we suppose for the moment that the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras were barbarians, the same epithet cannot be heaped upon the Yavanas or the Greeks, whose Hellenism was a formidable rival to the Hinduism of India. Yet such was the charm of the Hindu civilization that we find even the Greeks adopting Hindu names and Hindu faiths such as Buddhism and Vaisnavism. Things, however, changed when the second period began to dawn, and the Muhammadan ascendancy was being established all over India. Most of these new invaders belonged to the barbarian tribes; and yet such was the indelible influence produced by Islam on their mind that they refused to become Hindus and adopt Hinduism. On the contrary, they left no efforts untried to convert the Hindus themselves to their own religion. And who can say that they did not succeed in this attempt to an appreciable extent?

Now, that portion of the Hindu epoch which glides into the Muhammadan period is interesting in more than one way. But the most important thing connected with it is the question: at what different times did the Muhammadan invaders penetrate or try to penetrate into India at all; and when and how did they obtain a firm footing? The late Dr. V. A. Smith, the author of the 'Oxford History of India,' has detailed several causes to explain this phenomenon.¹ The Muhammadan invaders, says he, were undoubtedly superior to their Hindu opponents in fighting power, because they came from a cool climate in hilly regions and were heavier and physically stronger, and also because they were flesh-eaters, whereas the Hindus were mostly vegetarians. Secondly, their fierce fanaticism helped them immensely, fanaticism which consisted in the belief that by killing non-muslims as infidels they were doing a service eminently pleasing to God. This fanaticism developed into all kinds of frightfulness which terrified and completely broke down the Indians. Thirdly, the Hindu strategy and tactics were old-

¹ (First Ed.), pp. 257-8,

fashioned. Elephants on which the Hindus relied proved to be worse than useless when pitted against the well-equipped active cavalry of the Muhammadans. These and other causes, says V. A. Smith, combined in helping the Muslims, though insignificant in numbers, to keep enormous multitudes of Hindus in subjection for centuries.

This is the view which V. A. Smith has propounded in regard to the Muhammadan invasion of India and the causes of its success. Another view places itself before us, as we read Elphinstone's *History of India*.¹ Mount Stuart Elphinstone, being possessed of a broader outlook, thinks it extraordinary that the Arabs, who had conquered Sind and reached as far as Multan during their first ardour for conquest and conversion, should not have overrun India as easily as they did Persia. He assigns various reasons which prevented the phenomenal spread of the Arab conquest in India. But we are not concerned with them. What is, however, incontestible is that although the Arabs had invaded India as early as 712 A. D., it was not till 1192, that the Muhammadans could be said to have gained a footing at all. This was the year when Prthvirāja, the Cāhamāna king, was vanquished, and the Rajput supremacy overthrown by Muhammad Ghori. V. A. Smith himself admits at the beginning of his book (pp. 10-11) that within the brief space of eighty years from the Prophet's death, his Arab followers had become masters, not only of Arabia, but of Persia, Syria, Western Turkestan, Sind, Egypt and Southern Spain, but that India proper remained substantially unaffected. There was thus an interval of at least 450 years, between the first Arab invasion and that of Muhammad Ghori; and it is, indeed, strange how V. A. Smith slurs over this period though it is, by no means, a small one. It does not seem to have occurred to him how and why the first Arab invasion ended with a conquest of Sind and Multan only, although the Muhammadans were then intoxicated with a series of unparalleled successes over the greater portions of Asia, Africa, and Europe, and their zeal for the dissemination of their faith had not a bit diminished. This point, no doubt, arrested the attention of

¹ Book V, chapter I (p. 312ff. of 5th Ed.).

Mount Stuart Elphinstone, but does not seem to have troubled Smith at all. Are we therefore to suppose that the Muhammadans made no attempt to overrun India during this interval extending over four centuries and a half? This is incredible. For, as has been just remarked, the Muhammadan arms, almost everywhere in Europe, Africa and Asia, were crowned with success, and their enthusiasm for the spread of Islam was by no means unabated. And it is inconceivable that they made no serious attempts to bring India under the sway of Islam. Besides, anybody who has carefully studied the history of the Gurjara Pratihāra Empire of Kanauj cannot fail to notice that the Muhammadans did come into hostilities more than once with the Indians. This we know not only from the Indian records connected with the imperial Pratihāra dynasty and the Cāhamānas of Sāmbhar and Ajmer, but also from the accounts of the Muhammadan writers themselves. And it is all the more singular that it has escaped the attention of V. A. Smith when he wrote the *Oxford History of India*, because he knew it when he wrote his two papers on the *Gurjaras of Rajputana and Kanauj*.¹ In fact, the subject of these two papers pressed itself on my attention six years ago when I was writing a chapter for the Cambridge History of India on the Gurjara empire. And it is our object here to enter into greater detail and try to piece together the story of the Muhammadan attempts to invade and subjugate India from earliest times to the battle of Terrain where Muhammad of Ghur defeated and killed Pṛthvirāja, the last Cāhamāna monarch of northern India. And we shall base our narrative not simply on the accounts written by Muhammadan merchants and travellers but also upon Indian records such as they are available to us.

It was during the Caliphate of Walid I., son of Abdalmalik, that Sind seems to have been first conquered by the Muhammadans. Muhammad, son of Qasim, went to Makran and began his invasion of Sind by reducing Daebol and Sadusan. At Daebol temples were demolished and mosques founded. He then crossed the Indus, and defeated and killed Dahar, king of Sind.² Then in his march against Multan he besieged Alrur (Alore),

¹ JRAS., 1909, pp. 53-76 and pp. 247-281.

² H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 469.

which surrendered on his promising to spare the lives of the inhabitants and not touch the temples. "The temples" he said, "shall be unto us, like as the churches of the Christians, the *synagogues* of the Jews, and the fire-temples of the Magians."¹ This is, indeed, very strange, as one of the objects of such raids was to destroy the temples and idols of the infidels. This is stranger still, because when Muhammad actually took Multan, he is reported to have massacred all men capable of bearing arms and to have seized children and even ministers of temples as captives. But nowhere is he represented as having demolished the celebrated Hindu temple of Multan or at least broken its idol, although it was a place of pilgrimage. All that he is reported to have done there is that he attached a piece of cow's flesh to its neck. But he spared the idol and the temple, as they were a source of great income to him. So avarice triumphed over religious zeal, as is generally the case with human nature. The idol and the temple were all intact till certainly the middle of the 10th century A. D., as we shall see further on. What the significance of this act on the part of the Arabs is, we shall also try to discuss at a subsequent stage.

Muhammad, we are afterwards told, sent an expedition towards al-Bailaman (Bhilmāl), and made peace with the inhabitants of Surast (Surāstra = Kathiawar). This is the first instance, we have, of an Arab raid in the interior. When Walid I. died and was succeeded to the Caliphate by his brother, Suleiman, Muhammad was recalled and killed. And Jaysingh, son of Daher, and other Indian Princes had no difficulty in regaining their lost dominions. But when Hissam became Caliph, he sent Junaid to reconquer Sind, which he did in spite of the profession of Islam religion by Jaysingh. And after conquering Kiraj, he organised regular incursions into the inland parts of India. One such force was despatched against Marmad (Marumāda), Mandal, Dahnaj (Dalmaj) and Barus (Broach). One army was despatched against Uzain (Ujjain) and the country of Maliba (Malwa)². Junaid in person conquered al-Bailaman and Jurz, which doubtless stand for Bhilmāl and the Gurjara country. The

¹ H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 441-3; *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 109 and 467.

Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang,¹ who visited India about the beginning of the 7th century, speaks of the Gurjara kingdom, which coincided in the main with North Gujarat and the southern half of Rajputana, with its capital at *Pi-lo-mo-lo* which has been taken to stand for Bhilmāl.² These were more or less plundering raids, and we are not told whether the Arabs actually succeeded in reducing any inland town except Bailaman or Bhilmāl.

The question may be asked : whether these foreign accounts are the only source of our information. Fortunately we have at least two Indian records which contain references to these Arab expeditions. The first of these is the well-known Sāgar Tāl stone inscription which is of the time of Bhoja I. who belonged to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. This epigraph³ speaks of Nāgabhaṭa (I), the first ruler of this family, as having conquered the armies of the Va(Ba)ḷaca Mlecchas, or the barbarians called Baluchs or Belochs. We know from another record that this Pratihāra family, before it acquired and wielded imperial sway from Kanauj, was ruling at Ujjain.⁴ And it thus appears that this mention of the repulsion of the Baluch foreigners refers to the dispatch of an Arab force by Junaid against Ujjain, where the Pratihāras were then established. The second and more detailed reference to the Arab expeditions is contained in the Nausari copper-plate grant of the Gujarat Cālukya chieftain, Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśi.⁵ An army of the Tājikas, that is, certainly of Arabs, is therein reported to have first destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchella, Surāstra, Cāvotaka, Maurya and Gurjara kings and to have been afterwards on its way to Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan with a desire to conquer all the southern kings. With that object in view, they first came upon the Navasārikā country or South Gujarat. But they were boldly met and vanquished by

1 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels*, Vol. II. p. 249.

2 PRAS. WC., 1907-08, pp. 40-1.

3 *Arch. Surv. An. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 280, v. 4 ; *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 240 & n. 12 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 200. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, reads *valava* and corrects it into *va(ba)lavat* (*Jour. Dept. Letters, Cal. Univ.*, Vol. X, p. 26, n. 2 ; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 107).

4 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 239.

5 *Vienna Or. Congress*, Arian Section, p. 230 ff. ; *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 109.

Avanijanāśraya Pulakēsi. It must be said to the credit of these Arab invaders that they made their influence deeply felt in Rajputana, Kathiawar and Gujarat. About this time the Gurjara sovereignty had been established, as stated above, at *Pi-lo-mo-lo* or Bhilmāl, and extended not only over Rajputana, which was then actually called the Gurjara country, but also over Kathiawar and North Gujarat. Of the different princes mentioned in the Nausari plates, the Cāvotakas were doubtless the Imperial Cāpa dynasty then ruling at Bhilmāl. Surāṣṭra is Kathiawar which was then held by the Maitrakas of Valabhi. The Maurya is the ruler of Mewar,¹ and the Gurjara must be the prince of the feudatory family of that name settled at Broach. The extreme south limit of the Arab raids according to the Nausari plates is thus represented by Broach, and this agrees with the Muhammadan account which includes Barus (= Broach) as one of the places attacked by a force of Junaid. And what appears to have happened is that the Arab army, after reducing Broach, tried to penetrate South Gujarat, with the object of conquering South India. But here, that is, in the Nausari District, they were opposed and successfully pushed back by Avanijanāśraya Pulakēsi. There can be no doubt that this Arab expedition produced a profound impression on the minds of the Indians. Junaid, we have seen, himself marched against Balaiman (Bhilmāl) and Jurz (Gurjara country), and, in fact, this invasion was of such a far-reaching character that in the first place, it practically put an end to the sovereignty of the Cāpa dynasty of Bhilmāl. That this expedition was looked upon by the Indians as something formidable may further be seen from the fact that two of the four titles which Avanijanāśraya Pulakēsi received from his overlord the Cālukya sovereign of Badami, are *Dakṣiṇāpathasvādihūraṇa*, or "Solid Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Dekkan" and *Anivartakanivartayitr* or "Repeller of the unrepellable." The Arab force

¹ One Maurya inscription of this period found in Rajputana is that of Dhavala from Kaṇṣuvāp in the Kotah State, where he is referred to as a supreme ruler (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX. p. 57 ff.). This Dhavala is apparently the same as Dhavalappadeva whose inscription dated G. E. 407 was found at Dabok in Mewar (PRAS. WC., 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2212; and *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII. p. 12, n. 1). It seems that during the 8th century A. D., Mewar and the surrounding parts were held by the Mauryas. See also *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 109 & n. 1.

seems to have been thus looked upon as *anivartaka* or unrepellable. And when Pulakeśi repelled these unrepellable people, he was naturally looked upon as a Solid Pillar of the Dekkan. It cannot thus be denied that this Arab expedition, howsoever terror-inspiring it was in Rajputana, Kathiawar and Gujarat, was in the South successfully stemmed and dashed back by a mere Chieftain. In the east also, that is, towards the side of Malwa, it was met and repelled, as we have seen, by Nāgabhaṭa I. of Ujjain. The Arab account, no doubt, speaks of a force being sent against Maliba (Malwa) and Uzain (Ujjain), but nowhere is it stated that they were reduced or subjugated. The Nausari grant also does not say that Ujjain was seized or destroyed by the Tājikas. We can therefore reasonably believe the Sāgar Tāl inscription when it tells us that the army of the Baloch foreigners was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa. And we must also note that although the impression created by the Arab expedition was no doubt profound it was of a temporary duration, and that although the Imperial Cāpa dynasty of Bhilmāl fast declined and crumbled up, it was before long replaced by the Pratihāras, not only of Ujjain but also Mandor.

We do not now hear of these frontier Muhammadan foreigners from Indian or any records for nearly three quarters of a century. A reference to them of about the 9th century is contained in the celebrated Khālimpur charter of Dharmapāla.¹ A verse from this record tells us that he earned for himself the sovereignty of Pañcāla and was even entitled to the coronation as king of this country, which was approved of by the neighbouring princes, but he declined it and assented instead to the installation of the ruler of Kanauj who, as we know from other sources, was Cālāyudha.² These neighbouring princes have been named and can be no other than chieftains, who were feudatory to the Kanauj sovereign. Among the latter we find the Yavana and Gandhāra princes referred to. Of these the name Yavana, it is true, is used to denote any foreign race, but, knowing as we do that at this time the Muhammadans were the only foreign people on the frontiers of Pañcāla, it would not be unreasonable at all to take

1 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. p. 243 ff.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII. pp. 31-2.

the Yavanas to stand for the Muhammadans, and, in particular, the Muhammadans who had established themselves at Multan. But this is not all, because we find the Gandhāra prince also mentioned as a frontier chief of the Pañcāla empire in the Khālimpur plates. Who was this Gandhāra prince? From Kalhana and Al Bērūnī we learn that the 'Hindu Shāhiya' dynasty was ruling over the Kabul Valley and Gandhāra in their time and that they had merely succeeded the 'Turkish Shāhiyas' who had originally held the same provinces.' The first prince of the former dynasty was Lalliya Shāhi, who, according to Kalhana, was a contemporary of Śaṅkaravarman who flourished during A. D. 883-902. As the Khālimpur charter was issued by Dharmapāla who was contemporaneous with Cakrāyudha and Nāgabhaṭa II. and who thus lived about the close of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century, the dynasty which was ruling over Gandhāra at this time must be not the Hindu, but the Turkish, Shāhiyas. This conclusion is confirmed by another fact mentioned in the Sāgar Tāl inscription. Among the various conquests achieved by Nāgabhaṭa II, who belonged to this period and who was the first Pratihāra king who transferred his dynastic capital from Ujjain to the imperial city of Kanauj, is included the statement that he captured the hill forts of the Ānarta, the Mālava, the Kirāta, the Vatsa, the Matsya, and, above all, the Turushka, ruler. It is quite evident even from this record that a Turushka dynasty was holding sway about the commencement of the ninth century. These Turushkas cannot be the Muhammadan rulers of Multan who were Arab, and not Turk, by extraction. They must doubtless be the Turkish Shāhiyas, from whom the Multan Muhammadans seem to have been distinguished by the latter being called Yavanas.

It is thus clear that the imperial dynasty of Kanauj which preceded the Pratihāras and to which Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha pertained had two Muhammadan principalities subject to its supremacy, one the Yavanas who were rulers of Multan and the other the Gandhāra princes who were the Turkish Shāhiyas. Whether they continued to acknowledge fealty to the Kanauj throne when it was occupied by the Pratihāras is doubtful.

1 A. Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. II. p. 336 & ff.

This much, however, is certain that allegiance was shown to the Imperial Pratihāras, if not by the Turkish Shāhiyas, at least by their successors the Hindu Shāhiyas. There is a passage in the *Rājataranginī* which says that the Kashmir king, Śaṃkaravarman (A. D. 883-902), inflicted a crushing defeat upon one Alakhāna, ruler of Gurjara, that is, of the Gujarat and Gujranwala districts of the Panjab, and imposed his own sovereign authority over him which had so long been exercised by Bhoja, that is, the Pratihāra sovereign Bhoja I.¹ We are further informed that Lalliya Shāhi, who was the founder of the Hindu Shāhiya family, and was an ally of Alakhāna, tried his very best to wrest it back from Śaṃkaravarman and restore it apparently to the Pratihāra dynasty, but without success. This clearly shows that the Pratihāra supremacy had spread as far west as the Kabul Valley which was included in the territory of the Hindu Shāhiya feudatories. Nevertheless, on the south of the Gurjara principality of the Panjab was the Muhammadan State of Multan, whose rulers did not owe any fealty to the Kanauj throne. This is clear from the accounts of two Muhammadan travellers, who came to India shortly after this time and have furnished us interesting information not only about Multan but also about the imperial Pratihāra dynasty itself. The first of these is the merchant Sulaiman, whose account of travellers is dated A. D. 851. He speaks of the principal kingdoms of India, the first place among which he assigns to Balhara (Vallabharāja), whose country, he rightly says, commences on the sea side in the Konkan.² This Vallabharāja was, no doubt, the title of the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheta and has been taken to refer to this dynasty.³ This Balhara, Sulaiman tells us, has around him several kings with whom he is at war. Among them is the Jurz king. Jurz undoubtedly stands for Gurjara, and this Gurjara king is now-a-days taken to be no other than the Pratihāra of Kanauj who was Gurjara by race. Two important statements have been made about him by Sulaiman. The first is that " he has great riches, and his camels and horses are numerous " and

1 *Rājataranginī*, Bk. V. vs. 148-55 ; A Stein, *Kaṭhā's Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. I. pp. 205-6. I have however followed my own interpretation.

2 H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. I. pp. 3-4.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II. p. 209.

that "this king maintains numerous forces, and no other Indian prince has so fine a cavalry".¹ It has been repeated over and over again by some historians that the Hindus had no well-equipped active cavalry. But certainly a Muhammadan like Sulaiman who had occasion to travel over the greater portion of Asia would not have singled out for praise the cavalry of the Gurjara king if it had not been really as fine as that of the adjoining Muhammadan rulers. The Gurjara prince, again, is reported to be unfriendly to the Arabs, and "among the princes of India", says Sulaiman, "there is no greater foe of the Muhammadan faith than he." The next Muhammadan traveller who visited India and has written an account of this country is Al-masudi (943 A. D.), who informs us that the king of Kanauj had four armies according to the four quarters, each numbering at least, 700,000 men, and that "the army of the north wars against the prince of Multan, and with the Musulmans, his subjects on the frontier."² "The army of the south fights against the Balhara king of Manker," that is, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Mānyakheta also called Vallabharāja. About the latter he further says: "Of all the kings of Sind and India, there is no one who pays greater respect to the Musulmans than the Balhara. In his kingdom Islam is honoured and protected."³ One of the maxims of Hindu polity, as stated above, is that kings with conterminous territories are natural enemies. Another maxim is that the kings whose territories are separated by that of an intermediate ruler who is their common enemy are natural allies. On the south side of the Gurjara empire were the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and on the north-west Arabs. The latter two were therefore the natural friends of each other and also the natural enemies of the former. But why should the Gurjara king be looked upon as the worst Indian foe to the Muhammadan faith, as Sulaiman informs us? This is intelligible only on the supposition that the Arabs who conquered Sind and Multan had still their first ardour for conquest and conversion unabated and were leaving no efforts untried to overrun the territory of the Gurjara kings, with reinforcements, if not from their homeland, at least from the neighbouring territories that had espoused the Islam faith. But these

1 Elliot, Vol. I. p. 4.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Gurjaras were the descendants of Nāgabhatta I, who repelled the forces sent by Junaid against Ujjain, and formed an effective bulwark against Muhammadan aggression. The repulsion of the Arabs by the Pratihāras not only took place in the time of Sulaiman but must have continued for a century and a half longer.

The Pratihāras were, indeed, more than a match to these Arab rulers of Multan, but the latter had a weapon in their hands which was irresistible against the Hindus. "Multan," says Al Masudi, "is one of the strongest frontier places of the Musalmans, and around it there are one hundred and twenty thousand towns and villages. In it is the idol also known by the name of Multan. The inhabitants of Sind and India perform pilgrimages to it from the most distant places: they carry money, precious stones, aloe-wood, and all sorts of perfume there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of Multan is derived from the rich presents brought to the idol of the pure aloe-wood of Kumiar (Comorin) which is of the finest quality, and one *man* of which is worth two *dinars*." Historians have been telling us rightly or wrongly that iconoclasm formed a most important part of the religious propaganda carried on by the Muhammadans at almost all times, and especially so during the first few centuries from the foundation of their faith. But it is worthy of note that the Arabs, after they captured Multan, preserved the idol of the Hindus, although it was a very important place of Hindu pilgrimage and consequently the destruction of the idol by the Arabs would have redounded immensely to the glory of the Muslim faith. But what we find is that the idol was preserved intact not only during first Muhammadan invasion, as we have seen, but also till the time of Al Masudi (923 A.D.). One reason that explains this strange phenomenon, as Al Masudi has told us, is that by far the greater portion of the revenue of the king of Multan accrued from the rich presents brought to the idol. Naturally, therefore, the Arab ruler of Multan must have been interested in the preservation of the idol. But the strongest reason that compelled him to resort to this policy is that which is stated further on by Al Masudi himself. "When the unbelievers," says he, "march against Multan, and the faithful do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol,

and their enemies immediately withdraw.'” This was, indeed, the strongest weapon they could hurl against their Indian foes, the most formidable amongst whom was the Pratihāra sovereign of Kanauj. It thus appears that the fanaticism of the early Muhammadan invaders and rulers of India was not of such a fierce and reckless kind as to impel them to carry out their policy of iconoclasm regardless of all consequence, but was rather curbed and guided by temporal considerations and motives of diplomacy. It also shows that many hostile actions must have taken place between the Muhammadan Arabs of Multan and the Hindu Pratihāra kings of Kanauj. The former must have appealed to the fanaticism of their co-religionists far and near in organising raids into the Pratihāra dominions, but the latter, though they had the power, could not crush the tiny Muhammadan state of Multan as that course of action meant the destruction of the Multan idol, so dear and holy to them and their subjects. There must have been these fights going on, not simply for territorial but also for religious expansion. What wonder if this Gurjara king is branded by Sulaiman as the greatest foe of the Muhammadan faith?

It will be clear from the above account that though the Arab invasion took place as early as 712 A. D. and though the Arabs and their co-religionists soon after the death of their prophet were irresistible whichever part of Asia, Africa or Europe they overran, they could not possibly advance in their conquest of India beyond Sind. They undertook plundering raids from time to time, but could nowhere gain any firm footing in the interior of India. It was not for a short period but upwards of two centuries that they were successfully held at bay by the Hindu rulers. For this immunity from foreign inroads, India was indebted in the first instance and for a short space of time to the Pañcāla family to which Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha belonged, but afterwards and for a long period to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty which wielded sway practically over the whole of North India. Things, however, changed when the Pratihāra supremacy began to decline. After the demise of Mahendrapāla II, that is, about the end of the tenth century, the fabric of the

1 Elliot, Vol. I. p. 23.

Gurjara empire began fast to crumble to pieces. Gujarat and Kathiawar were seized by the Solankis under Mularaja. The province of Malwa acquired independence under the Paramara ruler, Vakpati-Munjaraja. The western part of the Gurjara empire, comprising Rajputana and Eastern Panjab, developed into the Cahamana kingdom under Vighrapala. The mighty Gurjara empire, losing all cohesion, began thus to split up into a number of scattered principalities; and a unique opportunity presented itself to the frontier Muhammadan states for renewing their aggression and organising inroads into India. Just about this time a strong Islamic power had evolved itself at Ghazni, and the policy of rapine and encroachment was resumed with alacrity by its founder, the Amir Sabuk-Tigin. It was, however, pursued with greater vigour and success by his son, Mahmud, who made not less than seventeen incursions into India. There can be no doubt that all his raids were crowned with great glory and fame. But here several questions arise: what was the secret of his success? What was he as a fighter? Did he have any open well-pitched battles with the Indian Princes? Did he obtain any thing beyond plunder by his raids? It is not possible to deal with all these questions here, and their consideration must therefore be reserved for another paper. Besides, the interval which separates Mahmud of Ghazni from Muhammad Ghur extends beyond a century and a half. It was in the time of Muhammad Ghur that the Muhammadan foreigners for the first time secured a firm footing. And during this long period flourished a Rajput dynasty known as the Cahamanas of Sambhar and Ajmer. They had made themselves masters of Rajputana and the eastern half of the Panjab, and there was a time when almost all the kings of Northern India owed fealty to them. These Cahamanas also had encountered the Muslim foreigners many a time and frequently with conspicuous success. All these facts have to be carefully studied and weighed. And this can be done carefully and at length only in a later paper.

It may, however, be asked at this stage: what about Multan? what about the image of Surya which was allowed to remain intact by the Arabs, because it was such a fruitful source of income to the Muhammadan state of Multan and which was so skilfully

and effectively used by them as a weapon against their Hindu foes when they were found irresistible? Fortunately for us we have been furnished with some information on this point by Al Beruni, a most erudite scholar and a protege of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and his son. "When the Carmatians became masters of Multan," says he, "their chief broke the idol in pieces, and massacred its ministers; and the temple, which was built of brick, and situated on an elevated spot, became the grand mosque in place of the old one, which was closed on account of the hatred borne against Ummayide Khalifas, under whose rule it was constructed. Sultan Mahmud, after subduing the Carmatians, re-opened the old mosque, so that the old one was abandoned.¹" It is thus clear that the celebrated idol of Multan was broken to pieces when the Carmatians occupied the town. The Carmatians were a religio-political sect of the Shi-'ites which sprung into existence towards the close of the ninth century, and strove to undermine the power of the Khalifate of Baghdad. But when did they penetrate India? The Carmatians have certainly not been alluded to by the Arab traveller Ibn Haukal (A. D. 968-976) in his account, but it could not have been long after his visit to India. Their power began to wane from 938 A. D., which was accelerated by two ignominious defeats in Egypt in A. D. 972 and 975. Their subsequent overflow into Iraq was completed in A. D. 985. It must have been about this latter year," says H. M. Elliot² "that, finding their power expiring in the original seat of their conquests, they sought new settlements in a distant land, and tried their success in Sind." The Carmatians thus appear to have attacked and taken possession of Multan about 985 A. D., that is, towards the end of the tenth century, just at the time when the Gurjara empire of Kanauj was being fast disintegrated and dismembered. If the Carmatians had come to Multan a century earlier, either they would not have ventured to destroy the Hindu idol or would have been forthwith expelled from Multan, nay exiled from India by the invincible might of the imperial Pratihāra dynasty.

The period of Indian history beginning from 712 A. D. and closing with the destruction of the Pratihāra supremacy coincided

¹ Elliot., Vol. II, p. 441.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. 259.

in the main with the Period of the Abbaside Caliphate which, we know, was characterised by a cosmopolitan civilisation, and never by any fervour of conquest. It may thus perhaps be contended that the Muhammadan foreigners were not bent upon making new conquests and could not have put forth any serious effort for subjugating India. It is therefore idle to say, we may be told, that they were kept at bay by the Pratihāra Rajputs for such a long period. This is a likely point of view which we cannot afford to ignore. Strictly speaking, however, the Abbaside Caliphate commenced from A. D. 748 and not from 712. Again, it is true that this period in Moslem history is a period of prosperity and peace with no conquest to its record ; but the real question here is : why should there be no conquest to its record ? The period of the Abbaside Caliphate was preceded by the Period of Expansion which was characterised by fervent religious zeal. This Period extended from 622 to 748 A. D., whereas the Muhammadan invasion of India began actually in A. D. 712. We have thus a period of no less than 36 years (A. D. 712-48) during which the Omayyad Caliphs tried their utmost to conquer India and convert her people to Islam. And we have seen what a deep impression they produced on the mind of contemporary India. Nevertheless, all the attempts of the Caliphs to subjugate India, fired though they were by an intense religious fervour, were rendered futile and nugatory by the bravery of the Rajput tribes. And the tide of Muslim expansion which engulfed Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Persia, Northern Africa and Southern Europe as far as Spain broke in vain on the west of India. When the Moslem expansion thus reached its farthest limit and could not proceed further, it seems that there was no help but for the Abbaside Caliphate to inaugurate and develop a policy of peace and culture, which was thus in a way forced upon them by the circumstances. If the Rajputs had not offered a brave and obstinate resistance to the Muhammadan arms, it is idle to suppose that any Caliph would have completely and all at once set aside a policy of expansion pursued so long with great vigour and profit in favour of a non-militant policy of peace, culture and consolidation. Again, as we have seen, the efforts of the Omayyad Caliphs were not altogether futile. They succeeded in conquering Sind and Multan, which afterwards developed into an independent principality and continued to be a

source of great nuisance to the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty. Baluchistan and Afghanistan had already been converted to Islam, and the ruling dynasties there were but waiting for an opportunity to pounce upon India, especially after the fall of the Abbaside Caliphate. War with India could at any moment be represented by them as a holy war to their Moslem subjects. All that was required was a favourable opportunity, which as we have seen offered itself with the impending dissolution of the Pratihāra supremacy, and was, as we shall see, utilised to its fullest extent by Mahmud of Ghazni. And the question that thus arises is: how were the Muhammadans kept at bay? What were the causes that really stemmed the Muhammadan invasion and arrested their aggression for a century and a half? By far the most potent of these causes is the imperialism of Northern India represented by the two royal dynasties of Kanauj,—the family to which *Indrāyudha* and *Cakrāyudha* belonged and the Pratihāra family that followed. It is a truth too well-known to require any demonstration that so long as India, at any rate Northern India, was subject to any imperial dynasty, the north-west frontier of the country was well cared for and effectively guarded. Unless and until the defence of this frontier was considered to be a matter of Imperial concern, we find that no steps were ever taken to fortify it against foreign depredations and incursions. When Candragupta, the founder of the Maurya family, brought under his Imperial sway the greater portion of India including the north-west frontier provinces, even such a tough fighter as Seleucos Nicator found it impossible to penetrate through India, though he had at his back a mighty Greek army that had perhaps not forgotten the training and generalship of Alexander the Great. It was only when Aśoka replaced the policy of terrestrial conquest by that of victory through Dhamma that the Mauryan supremacy began to develop symptoms of decay and disintegration. And it was not long after his death that we find the Greek pouring into India and dismembering the Mauryan empire, just those Greeks who could do nothing against the Magadha army, under the generalship of Seleucos, nay, even under the leadership of Alexander the Great himself, who could not possibly induce them to fight with the Magadha soldiers. The next imperial dynasty that exercised supremacy over the whole

of Northern India was, of course, the early Gupta kings, during the tenure of whose rule India enjoyed respite for a long time against foreign inroads and encroachments to which the Greeks had opened the way. Nay, there was a mighty foreign tribe called the Hūnas that wanted to penetrate India and put it to sack and pillage just as they did many parts of the Roman empire. But such was the might of the Gupta princes that Skandagupta did not find it very difficult to repel and keep them beyond the confines of India. After the death of Skandagupta, however, the Gupta empire came to be partitioned, and the Gupta power was thus evidently on the wane. This was the most opportune moment for the Hūnas to make another attempt; and as the solidarity of the Gupta imperialism was no longer intact but was on the contrary in a shaky condition, it was an easy matter for the Hūnas not only to enter India but also to establish a kingdom. To come to the latest times, we find the British supremacy established all over India and consequently the defence and fortification of the north-western frontier, we know, has all along been a question of Imperial anxiety and deliberation. About the time when the Arabs obtained a footing in Sind and wanted to push themselves forward and found an Islam kingdom, we find that almost the whole of Northern India, at any rate, was subject to one or another Imperial dynasty. The only vulnerable part of Northern India was Western Rajputana where a Cāpa dynasty had established themselves at Bhinmāl and was trying to be a paramount, if not an imperial, power. But the Cāpas had not by that time obtained any firm footing in that quarter; and it is no wonder if they were wiped out by the Arab raids. Intoxicated by this success, the Arabs tried to penetrate South India and establish their might there. But, as we have seen, they were mercilessly repulsed by Avanijanāśraya, a Cālukya Chieftain of Navasārikā. Here too what was the cause of the failure of the Arab invasion against South India? The cause is precisely the same. Because almost the whole of South India was dominated by the Imperial Cālukya family of Vātāpi, and the protection of the frontiers, which here coincided principally with the Vindhya, was thus a matter of Imperial concern, so far as that part of India was concerned. Similarly, when the Pratihāras rose to importance and established themselves at

Kanauj, their empire included practically the whole of Northern India, certainly Rajputana and the north-west frontier part of the country. This is just the reason why Al Masudi, as we have seen, informs us that the king of Kanauj had four armies and that whereas the army of the south fought against the Rāṣtrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, that of the north warred against the prince of Multan and the Musalmans. The Pratihāras of Kanauj had two formidable enemies to count, the Rāṣtrakūṭas to the south and the Muhammadans to the west; and they must have taken every care to see that the passes in those regions were properly fortified and defended. This was easy enough, because so far as Peshawar and Eastern Afghanistan were concerned, we find that this region had been occupied by the Hindu Shāhiyas, who themselves were feudatories to the Pratihāras of Kanauj. It thus seems that the Pratihāras had taken every care to prevent Muhammadan aggression whether from Sind and Multan or from Afghanistan. If the confines of the Pratihāra Empire had not extended as far westward as Sind and Multan and as far north-westward as East Afghanistan, if, that is to say, any independent tiny states had intervened between the Pratihāra dominions on the one side and Afghanistan and Sind on the other, the various semi-barbarous Muhammadan tribes from outside could have poured into this country, made themselves masters of these intervening Indian states and would have been settled there in such terrific swarms that before long they would not have found it a difficult matter at all to encroach upon the Pratihāra Empire and carry their victorious arms into its very interior. As it was, the north-west boundary of this empire was the natural frontier of India, that is to say, the barrier formed by the Safed Koh and Sulaiman ranges separating India from Afghanistan.

The main cause then why till the end of the 10th century the Muhammadans found it impossible to penetrate India was that the greater portion of Northern India, extending as far as Afghanistan, had been held by the Imperial Pratihāra dynasty of Kanauj. But certainly there must have been other causes of more or less importance which also co-operated in preventing Muhammadan aggression and aggrandisement. Certainly that army

must have been well trained and well equipped. It has been asserted by some historians that the Indians cared only for their elephants and were highly deficient in their cavalry, and this was the reason why they could not withstand the attacks of the Muhammadan invaders. That this is untrue is what we have seen already. For Sulaiman, we have noted, tells us that the king of Kanauj had great riches and *numerous camels and horses* and that no other Indian prince had so fine a cavalry. This praise, coming as it does from a Muhammadan who had travelled over the various parts of Asia, is the best testimony that we can adduce in regard to the efficiency and equipment of the Hindu cavalry. Then again we cannot understand why the elephants which form by no means an unimportant part of an old Hindu army are thought so lightly of by some modern writers for any effective military operations even at that early period. But we shall not expatiate on this point here, because in a later paper we shall have occasion to show that even such an astute and experienced general as Mahmud of Ghazni had employed elephants from India in his fights against his Muhammadan neighbour kings and was thereby able to achieve splendid victories.

THE USE OF THE CASES IN VEDIC PROSE

BY

SUKUMAR SEN, M. A.

(Continued)

Cf. *agastyūśramasya panthāḥ*, the way to the hermitage of Agastya (Uttararāmacarita).

sa yaḥ spandamānānām sthāvaro hradāḥ syāt, there is a standing pool of flowing waters (ŚB. 4.4.5.20). *tad aḥnām vū uśasām vū mithunam karoti* (ŚB. 2.3.1.38). *ko hi manuṣyasya śvo veda*, who knows the morrow of man (ŚB. 2.1.3.9). *yad vai yajñasya mithyā kriyate*, where anything is done wrongly at the sacrifice (ŚB. 1.9.3.4). *sa teṣām vivacanam ivāsa*, he was, as it were, their authority (ŚB. 2.4.4.3). *atithir vā eṣa etasyūgacchati*, he comes as his guest (ŚB. 3.4.1.2). *etarhi sammarśanasya kālāḥ*, this is the time of touching (ŚB. 3.8.3.36). *eṣa upariṣṭād aryamṇaḥ panthāḥ*, this is Aryaman's path above (ŚB. 5.3.1.2). *yajūmśi anasaḥ agnau*, the formulas to the cart in the building of the fire altar (ŚB. 6.8.1.1). *evam viduṣaḥ pūpaṃ na kīrtayet*, one must not speak ill of him who knows this (ŚB. 8.5.1.17). *athāto gṛhāṇām evopacāraḥ*, as to the observance in regard to (the entering of) his house (ŚB. 2.4.1.14). *sa kālāḥ paridhānasya*, that is the time for conclusion (KB. 18.4).

Abstract nouns :

sarvasya premāṇām gatāḥ.....sarvasya cārutām gatāḥ, dear to a'lbeloved by all (AB. 18.3.3). *aśnute ha prajānām aiśvaryam ādhipatyam*, he attains prosperity and lordship over (his) subjects (AB. 24.2.5). *asti vai agneś ca apūṃ ca vibhrātṛṛyam iva*, there is, as it were, enmity between the fire and the waters (ŚB. 2.4.1.14). *śuklānām ca kṛṣṇānām ca saṃdhir bhavati* (ŚB. 3.2.1.5).

saṃvatsarasya samatā vedīlavyā, in the year there should be known to be uniformity (ŚB. 12.3.5.12). Cf Av. *daibiśvatō dīāśūo* the malice of the malicious (Ys. 28.6).

(1) With the perfect passive participle :

The genitive with participles in *-ta* is not the subjective genitive though it is felt to be the agent. This genitive is a

[*ktasya ca vartamāne* P. 2. 3. 67 : *adhikaraṇavācinaśca* 2. 3. 68]. This genitive is rather rare in RV. but are plentiful in the Brāhmanas.

tesām sarvā diśo bhijītā abhūvan, they have won all quarters (TS. 3.5.10). *baddha eṣām*, bound by them (TS. 3.2.8c). *acyutād yajñasya cyaveran*, they would depart from the norm of the sacrifice (AB. 22.4.5). *tad vā ṛṣṇām anuśrutam āsa*, this was heard by Ṛsis (ŚB. 1.6.2.1). *yo'sya vāṇtām upadyate*, who enters into his open mouth (ŚB. 1.6.4.18). *etad vai juṣṭam devānām*, it is indeed palatable to the gods (ŚP. 1.7.2.10). *eṣām jitam anapajayyam*, their conquest is unassailable (ŚB. 3.4.2.8).

yatra yatrāgner nyaklam wherever the nature of Agni is manifest (SB. 2.1.1.1).

Cf. : *sanūjū suthumatī devānam priyasa priyadasino rañño* (Girnar I 67); *reṇāniyamate gal(v)mate ca devānam piyasū* (Khalsi XII 36); *ridite ve bhūmle* (Bhabra 2); *sarapāsaniḍā pi me pūjītā* (Delhi VI. 7). *imassa ca bhikkhuno suggahitam* (Mahap. 229). *tassa te dulladidham* (Mahap. 238). Cf. Av. : *yē nāo īstō*, who is desired of us (Ys. 56.1).

(1a) Similarly gerundives are used with the possessive genitive (Cf. P. 2.3.71):

trustū vai paśūnām rūpakrt, Tvaṣṭr is the maker of form of animals (TS. 6.3.6). *anyasya valikrt*, tributary to another (AB. 35.2.3).

hotar vadasev yat te vātṣyam, O Hotr, say your say (ŚB. 14.3.1.20). *yad eṣām jayyam āsa*, what they wished to gain (ŚB. 1.6.2.3).

There is a unique instance of a possessive genitive governed by a present participle: *nāsya bruvāṇam cana* nor any one claiming to be his (KB. 6.2, 3, 4 etc.).

(2) Appositional Genitive.

The existence of the appositional or apexegetic genitive in Sanskrit is denied by Whitney (§295). But the following examples will suffice for refuting his statement. The appositional genitive can not be denied for Sanskrit. (Cf. Keith : Introduction to the TS.).

*antar agne rucā tvam
ukhāyai sadane sve ।
tasyās tvam har a tapan
jātavedaḥ śivo bhava ॥*

O Agni with glow within thy own seat of pan, Heating with her blaze ! Be thou, O All-knower auspicious (TS. 4.1.91). It should be noted that both the Kāthaka and the Maitrāyaṇi Saṁhitās read *ukhāyām* for *ukhāyai* (But *ukhāyai* may well be taken as a locative feminine form ; see Dative *supra*).

adād idam yamo 'vasānam prthivyāh, Yama hath given this resting-place of earth (TS. 4.2.4a).

sanim goḥ ... havamūnāya sādha, accord to the sacrificer the gain of a cow (TS. 4.2.4i).

devo devam etu somaḥ somam etu itasya pathū (PB. 1.1.2). *ṛtasya pathā preta*, go forward in the way of truth (ŚB. 4.3.4.16).

In fact this idiom goes back to the Indo-Iranian, as the following example shows : *garmpadhyā māhyā* IX *raucabīs*, nine days in the month of Garmpada (APL p. 204). Cf. the Gk. poetic use : πόλις Ἀργεῖς, the city of Argos (Aristophanes); *τροίης πτολίεθρον*, the city of Troy (Homer).

(3) Genitive of authority. (See *infra*).

7. Genitive with Verbal Nouns.

The genitive with verbal substantives are allied to the genitive with verbs (see *infra*).

(1) Subjective Genitive.

The agent of the action of the verbal noun takes the subjective genitive. It is however interchangeable with the instrumental.

In the Brāhmaṇas (and so also in cl. Skt.) the instances of the subjective genitive are rarer than those of the objective genitive.

yajñasya samṛddhyai, for the prosperity of the sacrifice (TS. 5.1.2).

uttarasya girer manor avasarpaṇam, Manu's descent from the northern mountain (ŚB. 1.8.1.6). *yathā vai devānāṁ carapaṇam tad*

vā anu manuṣyānām, the course pursued by gods is in accordance with that pursued by men (ŚB. 1.3.1.1). *teṣām aśya sarveṣāṃ kāmūśanam*, of all those he may eat at pleasure (ŚB. 6.2.2.39). Cf. Gk. : ἡ τοῦ δήμου εἰργασία, the goodwill of the people. Cf. Av. : *vyazma ameśanam spēntanam*, the assembly of the A. S. (Ys. 57.12).

(2) Objective Genitive.

The object of the verbal noun takes the objective genitive.

na asaṃxatsarabhṛtasya ikṣakeṇa cana bhavitavyam, one must not even be a looker-on at the (building up of a fire) not carried about for a year (ŚB. 7. 1. 2. 11). *kāmacārasya vā kāmūya*, from a desire of free scope (ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 2). *svargasya lokasya rohaḥ*, a mounting to the heavenly world (AB. 12.8.6). *eṣa vai naḥ strīṇām upacārah*, such is the way to behave to us women (ŚB. 11.5.1.1). *adhastūd hi śreyasa upacārah*, from below, as it were, one serves one's superior (ŚB. 1.1.1.11). *ātmanah pratyabhimarśaḥ*, the touching of himself (AB. 35.7.5). *na purā somasya krayūd apornvīta*, he should not uncover before the purchasing of the Soma (TS. 6.1.3). *rakṣasūm apahatyai* (AB. 3.5.11). *rāṣṭrasya guptyai* (AB. 40.4.8). *syūma hantad yajñasya*, sewing of the sacrifice (AB. 22.7.6). *tasyaitasya paricakṣā*, a slight on this (ŚB. 1.3.5.14). *ūtim evāśya vindanti*, the gods get its satisfaction (PB. 9.5.4). *kṣptir asi diśām*, thou art the orderer of the quarters (AB. 37.5.12).

Cf. *ahē yasna yazatanam*, on account of his worship of the deities (Ys. 57.3). *yō vanāno kayadhahē*, who was the victor over the Kayadha (Ys. 57.15). *hvarṣtanam śyotlnanam vardēzāi*, for the doing of good deeds (Vsp. 15.1).

pāpasya karmanah kartārah, doors of evil deed (AB. 35.1.1). *viśvasya bhuvanasya dhartrī*, sustainer of the whole world (TS. 4.2.9 L). *agnir vai pathām apinetū*. Agni is the guide of paths (ŚB. 12.4.4.1). *mitrasya yantūsi*, thou art supporter of the friend (ŚB. 9.3.3.11). Cf. *mitrāya yantūsi* (ŚB. 9.3.3.10).

For Av., cf. : *yō jantū daēvayāo drujō*, who was the slayer of the fiendish Druj (Ys. 57. 15).

[In RV. the agent nouns in -*tr* generally takes the accu-

sative when the root is accented and the genitive when the suffix is accented].

duravavadam hi śreyasaḥ, it is unwise to speak ill of a superior (AB. 24.3.5). This use of the genitive with a verbal noun with the suffix -a (-*khal*) is not sanctioned by Pāṇini 2.3.69).

Cf. Gk. διὰ τὸ παυσανίου μῖσος, owing to the hatred of Pausanias (Thucy).

8. Partitive Genitive.

The partitive genitive expresses either the whole with respect to the part, or a multitude from which an individual is selected out (*yataś ca nirdhāraṇam* P. 2.3.41). (See Locative *infra*).

bṛhaspatir vai devānām udagūyat, among the gods Bṛhaspati chanted aloud (PB. 6.7.1). *maṇḍūkena paśūnām*, with frog on the part of animal (ŚB. 9.1.2.24). *etāvatīnām devatānām agnim evāmantrayata*, addressed Agni out of so many deities (ŚB. 9.1.2.16). *tasmāt sarveṣūm aṅgūnām vācāvānnasya rasaṁ vijānāti*, whence of all organs it is through (the channel of) speech that the essence of food is known (ŚB. 8.5.4.1). *eṣām dundubhīnām ekam*, one of these drums (ŚB. 5.1.5.7). *indrah śalmalinām yamunūyā havyaṁ niravahat* (PB. 9.4.10). *ajāvikasya ubhayasya ajāḥ pūrvā yanti*, of goats and sheep the goats go first (ŚB. 4.5.5.4). *ete vai vasatūṁ varam* (ŚB. 3.9.2.16). *agniṣomau vai devānām sayujau*, Agni and Soma are the yoke-fellows among the gods (ŚB. 3.4.4.9). *sa devatānām eko bhavati* (ŚB. 3.1.1.8). *kaḥ svī so' smākam asti vīraḥ*, who is a hero among us? (AB. 35.1.2). *tūn bharadvāja ṛṣīṇām apaśyat*, whom Bharadvāja among the seers saw (AB. 15.5.1).

With pronouns and pronominal adverbs :

ye jaghanena śamyū piśyamānānām avaśīyante, whatever portion of the (grains) being ground falls down (ŚB. 5.2.3.2). *eṣām vai lokānām ayaṁ eva dhruvaḥ*, of these worlds this is the firm one (ŚB. 5.1.2.4). *yad atra payaso 'hūyi*, what milk was left there (ŚB. 1.7.1.18). *agner ha vai devā yāxid vā yāvud vā apsu praveśayām cakruḥ*, the gods made so much of Agni as would go in, enter the water (ŚB. 4.4.5.13). *yatra kva ca kurukṣetrasya nigacchati*, wherever in Kurukṣetra one settles there (ŚB. 14.1.1.2).

(1) Sometimes the part as well as the whole are identical. The sense is 'the best of' e. g. *śiśur vā āṅgirasō mantrakṛtām mantrakṛd āsit*, the son of Āṅgiras, though a child, was the best of composers of hymns (PB. 13. 3. 24). This idiom is Indo-European.

(2) With superlatives (and superlative formations) :

paramā vā eṣā saninām, this is the best of gifts (SB. 2.3.4.15). *uttarasya savanasya prathamam karoti* (SB. 4. 9. 3. 4). *hinkōrah stotriyānām daśamaḥ*, the call 'Hin' is the tenth of 'stotra'-verse (SB. 4.4.4.2).

devānām vā anīṣṭā devatā āsan, these deities were not sacrificed to by the gods (TS. 3.6.1). *mukham sveṣu bhavati śreṣṭhaḥ svānām bhavati*, he becomes the head among his own, the best among his own (AB. 8.4.9). *ardhasya śreṣṭho bhavati*, becomes the best of the community (SB. 2.1.2.8). *paśūnām prayuktatamaḥ*, most often-employed animal sacrifice (AB. 6.8.4). *teṣām yaśasvitamo bhūtvā* (SB. 4.2. 4.10). *bhāgi śreṣṭhī devānām syām* (TB. 3. 1. 4. 10). Cf. Av. : *hālam hvō aojistō*, he is the strongest of beings (Ys. 29.3). *kva paoirim ainhāo zēmō šāistēm* (Vend. 3.1).

ya eṣām parastarām iva bhavati, if any one of them be far away (SB. 3. 4. 2. 3). (A comparative adverb has been used here). *rājanyabandhavo manusyānām anutanām gopāyanti*, amongst men princes keep most aloof (SB. 10.5.2.10).

(3) With the numeral: *gavām triṇi śatāni*, three hundred of kine (AB. 33. 5. 3). Cf. Av. : *kazānrēm vairyanam*, 'a thousand of channels' (Yt. 5. 4).

(4) Under the partitive genitive comes the class of genitive used with iterative numeral adverbs (Vide P. 2.3.64). See *infra*, under Genitive with Adverbs.

(5) Genitivus Materise et Originis.

Sometimes the genitive expresses the material or the origin.

medasaśca hi ghṛtasya ca bhavanti, they are of fat and of ghee (AB. 6.2.8). *āsūnām puroḍāśam nirvapati*, prepares a cake from quick grown rice (SB. 5.3.3.3). *tasmād eteṣām vṛkṣūṇām bhavanti*, from these trees they are therefore (taken) (SB. 1.3.3.20). *taṁ vai*

purāṇānām kuryāt, should prepare it from old (grain) (ŚB. 2.4.3.7). *sa kṛṣṇānām vrihīṇām nakhair nīrbhidya taṇḍulān nairītaṃ caruṃ śrapayati*, he cooks the pap of black rice after spitting the grains with his nails (ŚB. 5.3.1.13). *ubhau eva navānām syūtām*, both consist of new material (ŚB. 2.4.3.7). *tad ubhayeṣāṃ vrihiyavānām grhṇāti*, he prepares it of both rice and barley (ŚB. 5.5.5.9). *mṛdaśca apām ca mahāvīrakṛtā bhavanti*, the Mahāvīra (vessels) are made of clay and water (ŚB. 14.2.2.53).

sa etam varuṇāya śatabhiṣaje bheṣajebhyaḥ puroḍāsaṃ datakapālaṃ niravapat kṛṣṇānām (TB. 3.1.5.9). *kṛṣṇavrihīṇām nakhanirbhinnānām piṣṭamayīm pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā* (Sm. B. 2.5.4).

9. Genitive with Verbs.

The genitive with verbs falls into two classes :

(A) in one the genitive represents generally the objective case, and, (B) in the other the genitive denotes the whole as affected by the verbs ; i. e. it is of a partitive nature.

(A)

(1) Verbs meaning to rule over, to dispose of :

kṣi : *kṣayantaṃ rādhaso mahah*, ruling over great wealth (ŚB. 7.3.1.33). Cf. Av. : *yezī cahyā xšayathā*, if you have power over any one (Ys. 48.9).

rūj (vi-) : *darśatasya hyeṣa vapuṣo virūjati*, he indeed shines of beautiful form (ŚB. 7.3.1.32).

iṣ : (Cf. *adhigarthadayeṣūṃ karmani* P. 2.3.52). *na vai tasyā tā iṣate*, they have no power to do that (TB. 3.1.9). *saṁvītā vai prasa-vānām iṣe* (AB. 33.4.5). *yo'yaṃ devaḥ paśūnām iṣte*, the god here who rules over cattle (ŚB. 1.7.3.1.). *grhāṇāṃ ha pīlara iṣate* (ŚB. 2.6.1.42) *na dāyasya caneṣate* (ŚB. 4.4.2.13).

pā : *prāṇo vai tanūnapāt sa hi tanvaḥ pāti* (AB. 6.4.5). Cf. Gk. Ἐρως τῶν θεῶν βασιλεύει, Love is the king of the gods.

(2) To rejoice or delight in :

trp : *juṣāṇā somasya trpyatu*, accept and delight in the Soma (TB. 3.2.5). *tasmād yadā annasya trpyati*, when one is satiated by food (ŚB. 10.3.5.13). Cf. *tava bhāgasya trpnuhi* (RV. 2. 36. 4).

Cf. *nāgnis trpyati kṣāṣṭhānām nāpagānām mahodadhīḥ* (Mbh. 5, 1538; Pañc. I). *apām hi trptāya na vāridhārā svāduḥ sugandhiḥ svadate tuṣārā* (Naisadhīya). *na śreyasām manas trptam vāḍavāgnir na yositām* (Ind. Spr. 3470) Cf. Pali: *accāppassa puriso pāyāsassa pi tappati* (J. 1.185).

juṣ : *svayam vai tad yajñasya juṣate*, sacrifice itself rejoices in the sacrifice (KB. 10.1; 26.3).

mad : *ubhā rūdhasaḥ saha mūdayadhyai*, you and I will together delight in kindly offer (ŚB. 2.3.4.12).

Cf. Av: *xṣnuyāo nō mithra yasnahe*, take pleasure in our worship, O Mithra (Yt. 10. 32).

(3) To take note of, to hear:

kīrtay : *na yajñe rakṣasām kīrtayet*, should not make mention of the Rakṣas at the sacrifice (AB. 6.7.2). *krūrām iva vā etat karoti yad rudrasya kīrtayati*, he does, as it were, a harsh thing when he recites that (text) of Rudra (TB. 6.1.7) (This example may also be taken as an elliptic construction). *pavamānasya kīrtayati* makes mention of the purifying (KB. 1.4.); *yad dyāvāpṛthivyoh kīrtayati* (KB. 3.8). *lokānām hi kīrtayati*, praises the worlds (ŚB. 3.1.4.15).

caḥṣ (ā) : *tasmāt palāśasyaiva palāśenācaḥṣate*, therefore they speak with the word *palāśa* of foliage generally (AB. 6.1.12).

śru : *yatra grāmyasya paśor nūśṛnuyāt tad araṇyam*, where one does not hear (of the cry) of domestic animals, it is the forest (ŚB. 21.3.5). Cf. Av. *surunuyāo nō mithra yasnahe*, hear our worship, O Mithra (K. 10.32).

āt : *asya haviṣas ciketu*, may (she) be aware of the oblation (TS. 3.3.11). Cf. *somo jaitrasya cetasi* (RV. 9.106.2).

man : *manai nu vabhrūṇām aham* of the brown once will I ponder (ŚB. 7.2.4.26). Cf. *vayam hi te amanmahī* (RV. 1.30.21).

mīmāms : *tvam nediṣṭham yājñavalkya agnihotrasya amīmāmsiṣṭhāḥ*, thou, O Yājñavalkya, hast inquired most closely into the nature of the Agnihotra (ŚB. 11.6.2.4).

vid : *prāṇo vai jātavedāḥ sa hi jātānām veda* (AB. 10.7.11). *prāṇasya vidvān samare na ghorah*, knowing the breath like a valiant

man in battle (TS. 3.2.8). *tasya haite'pi vadhyasya vidām cakruḥ*, they also knew of his going to be killed (ŚB. 1.2.3.2). *ko veda manuṣyasya*, who knows about (the life of) man (ŚB. 5.5.2.2). *esa vā etasya vanaspatir vettu*, this tree shall know it (ŚB. 9.1.2.22). *sa etaiḥ. supto na kasya cana veda*, when he is asleep, he does not, by means of them, know of anything whatever (ŚB. 10.5.2.15). *yo brāhmaṇaḥ sann aśvamedhasya na veda* (ŚB. 13.2.4.17).

(4) Miscellaneous Verbs.

jñā : *tad dha asya jajñuḥ*, they approved of his words (ŚB. 11.6.2.5). (Cf. *jñō' vidarthasya karaṇe* P. 2.3.51. This aphorism is generally misinterpreted. The Kāśikā gives the right interpretation. The sūtra should run thus : *jñō vidarthasya karaṇe*).

śu : *savitā tvā savānām suvatām*, may Savitr quicken thee for (powers of) quickening (ŚB. 9.4.3.16).

lip (ni) : *sa hotur iha nilimpati*, he anoints the Hotṛ here (ŚB. 1.8.1.14). Cf. *tad dhotī oṣṭhayor nilimpate*, with it the Hotṛ anoints his lips (ŚB. 1.8.1.14).

mṛḍay : *esa sarvasya īśāno mṛḍayati*, he, Īśāna, therefore, is gracious to every one (ŚB. 5.4.4.12).

kaṇḍūya : *yo vai garbhasya kūṣṭhena vā nakhena vā kaṇḍūyet* (ŚB. 5.4.4.12).

vadh (prati) : *bṛhaspateḥ pratyavadhīt*, he had contended with Bṛhaspati (AB. 35.2.1).

In Cl. Skt. a few other verbs are also found with this objective genitive (Vide P. 2.3.52). Thus—

utkaṇṭh : *utkaṇṭhamāno bharato gurūṇām*, Bharata being anxious for his superiors (Bhaṭṭi 3).

upa-kr : *tām āyusman mama ca vacanād ātmanas copakartum brūyā evam* (Megha.2.40); *sā lakṣmīr upakurute yayā pareṣām* (Kīrātārjunīya). *ādhyātman upakartum ... na kutūhali kasya manaḥ* (Naiṣadhiya quoted by Mallinātha under Megha 2.40); *mā kasyacid upaskṛthāḥ* (Bhaṭṭi. 8.19). Cf. *parapāśaṇḍasa ca upakareti* (Girnar XII. 4). In the Aśokan inscriptions *apakṛ* also is construed with the genitive : *parapāśaṇḍasa ca pi apakaroti* (Girnar XII. 5). *mītrāṇām upakursvāno rājyaṃ rakṣitum arhasi* (R).

prati-kr : *pratikuryām tathā tasya* (Mbh. 1.2018); *pratikartum*

prakṛṣṭasya nāvakṛṣṭena yujyate (R. 4.17.47). *smṛ* : *kaccid bhartuḥ smarasi rasike* (Megh. 2.34). *yasya smarate vāsavaḥ* (Mbh. 3,8446). Cf. Pali : *sumarati nāgavanassa kuñjaro* (Dhammapada 57). In Pali the verb *cintay* is also sometimes construed with the genitive : *tassa anovādakassa mā cintayi* (J. 1.159). For *'day*, see *supra*. cf. Pali : *telassa dayati* (Childers).

anu-grah : *devās tasyānugrṇate* (Bhp.). The verb *nāth* though included in this class by Pāṇini is not found in cl. Skr. ; but cf. Pali : *tassa nūn'ajja nādhati* for that he is longing (J. 5.90).

(B) Partitiveness.

(1) To eat, drink, partake of :

aś : *eteṣāṃ medhūnām nāśnāti* (ŚB. 11.1.7.3). *hutasya aśnāmi* (ŚB. 1. 8.1.15). But in this example the genitive is not partitive : *na dikṣitasya aśnīyat* (AB. 6.9,6). See *infra*.

Cf. *dadhyaśnīyām* (ŚB. 4. 2. 5. 19). *yadā hi prajā oṣadhīnām aśnanti* (TB. 3.2.5.7).

ad : *tūsāṃ jagdhvā ruṣyanti* *ait*, eating of them she went ill (TB. 2.1.1.2).

pū : *yasya pītṛā*, of which having drunk (AB. 8. 2. 14). *svayam asya pibantu madhunaś ca ghṛtasya ca* (ŚB. 9.2.1.14). *ya etūsāṃ nadīnām pibanti*, who drink of these rivers (ŚB. 0.3.1.24). *sa prathamāḥ somasya pāsyati* (AB. 9.1.1).

bhakṣ (accusative only is found in RV.) : *somo yad bindūnām bhakṣayet*, if he were to partake of the drops (TS. 6.6.3). *tā yad prathamāḥ somasya rājño bhakṣayanti*, they first partake of the king Soma (ŚB. 1.1.3.7).

Note : *gharmasya bhakṣayati*, he partakes of the cauldron (TB. 6.6.30, AB. 4.5.10). But, *hotṛcamasam bhakṣayet* (AB. 9.6.2).

vi : *juṣāṇo'ptur ājyasya vetu*, may the active one gladly partake of the ghee (TS. 6.3.2). *agne ājyasya vyantu*, O Agni, may you accept of the butter (ŚB. 2. 2. 3. 19).

lips : *tasmāt tasyāśīṭavyaṃ caiva lipīṭavyaṃ ca* (AB. 6.3.12). Cf. *tasya lipsūmahe vayam* (Bhatti, 7. 88).

Cf. Av. *āṭayāo zaōthrayāo frañharōš*, mayest thou partake of this libation (Yt. 5.91); *vāstrayēta geuṣ vā xvarēthake vā hurayāo*

vā madhūṣe vā, let him give them a feed of meat or food, liquor or mead (Vend 14.17).

(2) To give, to sacrifice :

dā : *annasya no dehi*, accord us food (TS. 5.2.2; ŚB. 6.6.4.7). *tasya te dattam*, of that to thee let the two give (TS. 2.3.10f). *annasya annapatiḥ prādāt* (PB 1.8.7). (See *infra*, Dative Genitive). Cf. Av. *ahyā haō nē dāidi*, give thou us a share in this (Ys. 40.2).

yaj (genitive of the thing offered) : *ājyasya eva yajet*, let him offer nothing but butter (ŚB. 2.4.3.10). *ghṛtasya yajanti*, they offer ghee (TB. 6.6.7) *puroṭāśasya yajati* (AB. 6.9.7). To worship: *ghṛtasya yaja*, recite the offering prayer of the ghee (ŚB. 4.42.4). *puroṭāśasya yajati*, says as offering verse for the cake (AB. 6.9.7). *haviṣo yajati*, uses as offering verse for the oblation (AB. 6.10.5). *dadhīgharmasya yaja* (ŚB. 14.3.1.30). *yad uccaiḥ saumyasya yajati*, in that he says the offering verse aloud for the soma drink (KB. 16.5).

vap (*nir*) : *tasya te' kṣīyamānasya nirvapāmi*, of thee that art imperishable I make the offering (TB. 1.1.10).

kṛt (*ut*) and *kir* (*pra*) : *tvaca utkartam avapākūnām samvraścam oṣadhivanaspatinām prakiranti*, of these without omentum they throw down pieces cut out of the skin, and of herbs and trees they do after cutting them up (ŚB. 13.7.1.9).

do (*ava*) : *athāsya puroṭāśasya avadyati*, cuts a piece from that cake (ŚB. 2.6.1.37). *dadhnaḥ pūrvasya avadeyam*, one should offer ourds first (TB. 2.5.3). *tasmād uttarato' śvasya avadyanti*, hence they cut off the (meat) portions from the left side of the horse (ŚB. 13.3.1.2).

han (*upa*) : *samidha ājyasya upahatya* having cut with a kindling stick some of the butter (ŚB. 6.6.4.12). *sa prthivīm adha ārcchat tasya upahatya udamajjat*, he sank under the earth and taking a part of it rose up (TB. 1.1.19).

hu : *tasya rasasya jīvanīyasya devebhyo juhavāni*, I will offer to the gods of that sap (ŚB. 2.3.1.11). *yasya kasya ca agnau juhvati*, of whatever they offer in fire (ŚB. 2.6.1.33). *annayānnasya juhoti* (TB. 1.3.8).

śic (*abhi*) : *annasya annasya abhiśiñcati*, he pours down every sort of food (TB. 5.6.3).

sū : *ghṛtasya sūyate* (TB. 1.3.9.1).

str (*upa*) : *ājyasya upastrñāti*, he makes a basis of butter (AB. 4.4.4.) It is probably an instrumental genitive. Cf. *vyāghracarmanā upastrñāti* (SB.). *ājyasya upastīrya*, having made an underlayer of butter. (SB. 1.7.4.11; 4.4.2.5).

grah : *na vā eteṣām havir gṛhṇanti*, no offering is made of them (SB. 1.1.1.10).

(3) To announce, to speak.

kr (*anu vaśat*) : *na rtuyājūnām anuvaśatkuryāt*, he should not say the second 'vaśat' for the offering of the seasons (AB. 9.5.7). *na vā ādityagrahasya anuvaśatkaroti*, for the Āditya libation he pronounces no second *vaśat* (SB. 4.3.5.23).

khyā (*prati*) : *aśanāyām ha vā eṣo yajamānasya pratikhīyāya vāśyate*, she calls aloud to reveal her hunger to the sacrificer (AB. 25.2.6). This translation is according to Sāyana and Haug. Dr. Keith has his own translation: "she calls aloud foreseeing hunger for the sacrificers". According to Dr. Keith, then, *yajamānasya* would be a possessive genitive going with *aśanāyām*.

brū : *na hūsyā bruvāṇam cana vaiśvānaro hinasti*, verify, Vaiśvānara does not harm to him that speaks of him (SB. 10.6.1.11).

(*anu*) (used with the dative of the god and the genitive of that to which he is invited; Cf P. 2.3.61) : *manotāyai haviṣo vādīyamānasya anubrūhi*. (AB. 6.10.1). *chāgasya vapāyai medaso nubrūhi* invite (A and B) to the omentum and the fat of the goat (SB. 3.8.2.26). Note the following use : *gāyatrīm brāhmaṇasya anubrūyāt*, his verse should be recited for a Brāhmaṇa (AB. 5.2.4).

(*ut*) : *tasyodbruvīta*, let one foreswear (SB. 5.2.2.4).

vad : *mā śriyo vādiṣma*, let me not speak ill of prosperity. (AB. 34.3.5). *duravavadam hi śreyasaḥ*, it is unwise to speak ill of a superior (AB. 24.3.5).

veday (*ā*) : *katham kṣatriyasya āvedayet*, how is one to announce the consecration of a 'kṣatriya' (AB. 34.7.1).

(4) To desire: to obtain.

kāmay : *yad eteṣām nakṣatrāṇām kāmayeta*, the benefits of whichever of the asterisms he might desire (SB. 2.1.2.19).

yasya kāmāyeta tasya prāṇān ādāyodeti, he goes away taking away the life of him whom he likes (ŚB. 2.3.3.8). *yasya evātaḥ kāmāyeta tasya vratam kuryāt* (ŚB. 3.2.2.14).

bhāj: bhagasya bhājāmahe, we shall enjoy prosperity (ŚB. 2.6.2.13).

(5) Other Verbs.

skand: yathā vai haviṣo hutasya skandet, even as some of the haviṣ may be spilled (ŚB. 13.1.3.1). This rather belongs to the partitive genitive. See *supra*.

dhū: (prati): athāsya śira āhrtya tad dhūsyā pratidadhatuḥ, having brought his head, they two put it on him (ŚB. 14.1.1.24). It is an almost locative genitive.

jiv (upa): tasyās te upajīvanto bhūyāsmā, may we prosper living on this of thine (TS. 5.5.9).

(6) To belong to:

as: manor ha vā ṛṣabha āsa, Manu had a bull (a bull belonged to Manu) (ŚB. 1.1.4.14). *kim nu tvam māmāsi*, what art thou to me? (ŚB. 2.3.4.6). *na hyavarcaso vyūptyā'canārtho' sti*, the inglorious has no concern with success (ŚB. 5.2.5.12). *teṣām āgīrasām niruplaṁ havir āsīt*, the A. offered the oblation (TS. 3.5.1). *anasa eva yajūmsi santi na kauṣṭhasya na kumbhīyai*, to the cart, therefore, refer (the following) Yajus texts, and not to a store-room, not to a jar (ŚB. 1.1.2.7).

bhū: tasya ha ekādaśākṣe rūṣtram iva prajā babhūva, of Ekādaśākṣi the offspring became as kingly person (AB. 25.5.15). *adya-mōnasya bhūyo bha xati*, becomes plentiful to the one which is being eaten up (PB. 21.2.2). *yasya paśavo bhavanti*, he who possesses cattle (ŚB. 8.2.3.15). *apyasya svarge loka bhavati*, he becomes a sharer in the heavenly world (ŚB. 12.3.5.11).

(C)

Genitive with Impersonal Verbs.

The origin of this type of the genitive is not clear. Some scholars, however, are of opinion that this genitive is probably possessive. This idiom was not unknown to Pāṇini (cf. 2.3.54).

ūmay : *athaitasya jyog ūmayati*, and thus is he long ill (TS. 7.2.4). *yasya jyog ūmayati* (PB. 6.10.5) *prāṇena vā eṣa vyrdhyate yasyāmayati*, he who is ill etc. (TS. 7.2.7).

ruj : (*rujārthānām bhāva-vacanānām ajvareḥ* P. 2.2.54). *bhṛātṛv-yasyaiva ruktvāgraṃ samānānām paryeti*, having destroyed his rival he reached the top of his equals (TB. 6.4.12). *atha yadasya rujet* (SmB. 2.3.1).

i (sam) : *te ha vaiśvānare samāsata teṣāṃ ha vaiśvānare na samīyāya*, they took counsel together regarding (Agni) Vaiśvānara but there was no agreement as to Vaiśvānara (ŚB. 10.6.1.1). According to Śāyana... "he was unable to instruct them in regard to V."

tap (sam) : *yadū vai striyaś ca pumaś ca samtapyate*, when man and woman are heated (ŚB. 3.5.3.16).

10. Dative Genitive.

In these examples the sense of the dative (i. e. direction of an action) is obscured by the predominating sense of possession. This idiom is rarely found in the Mantras.

dhū : *tasya śataṃ datvā*, having given a hundred (cattle) to him (AB. 33.3.7). This idiom with verbs meaning to give is found abundantly in classical literature. Cf. *nocchiṣṭaṃ kasyacid dadyāt* (Manu 2.56). *panthū deyo varasya ca* (Manu 2). *sutasya ābharāṇāni dhanuś copaniya arpayati* (Śak. 1).

śrad-dhū : *tasya śraddadhātī*, him men believe (AB. 10.8.6). *na bahūnāṃ cana anyeṣāṃ śraddadhātī*, he does not believe others however many (AB. 1.6.11). *athāsya śraddadhātī* (AB. 1.6.11). Cf. *śrad asmai dhatta* (RV.).

Cf. *na tasya viśvaset prājñāḥ* (Pañcatantra).

kr : *putrasya jātasya nāma kuryāt*, should give a name to the son born (ŚB. 6.1.3.9). *yaṃ dviṣyāt tasya kuryāt* (PB. 2.13.2). *yad vai patnī yajñasya karoti mithunaṃ tat*, the share of the wife in the sacrifice makes a pair (TS. 6.2.1). *na vā ajātasya garbhasya nāma kurvanti*, they give no name to an embryo unborn (KS. 7.2).

Cf. cl. Skt. : *hiranyako' pi mantharakasya praṇāmaṃ kṛtvā* (Pañcatantra).

jam : tāsām datasu māssu irīgāni ajāyanta (PB. 4.1.1). *tasya putro jajñe*, a son was born to him (AB. 33.2.2).

Dative of concern or interest :

tisthet paśukāmasya, it should stand for one desiring cattle (AB. 6.3.1). (It can be taken as a possessive genitive with *yūpaḥ* understood).

vāyavyam asya lubdham samset, he should recite (the triplet) of Vāyu for him in confusion (AB. 11.3.4). *tārksye svargakāmasya rohet*, with the Tārksya (hymn) should he mount for one desiring the heaven (AB. 18.6.20). *aindre pāśukāmasya rohet*, in a (a hymn to) Indra should he mount for one desiring cattle (AB. 29.3.2). *yasyaivaṃ viduṣa etam anvāhuḥ*, for whom knowing this they recite this (ŚB. 1.4.1.35).

yasyaiṣa grhyate, for whom it is drawn (TS. 3.5.9).

apīva hi devatānām sūyate (TB. 1.3.9.1).

Cf. *kasyedam uśīrānulepanam mṛṇālavanti ca nalinipatrāṇi niyanṭe* (Śak. 3). Cf. Pali : *amaccānaṃ imaṃ gātham āha* (J. 1. 138); *mayhaṃ akathetvā kassa kathesi tāta* (J. 1. 191-92). Cf. Av. : *yam daēnam ahurō saosyantō dadūt*, the religion which Ahura gave to S. (Ys. 53. 2). *yō nūīrikayāo xvarēthēm frabarōt*, who so brings the woman food (Vend. 16. 5).

11. Instrumental Genitive.

The genitive very rarely appears in the place of the instrumental :

saṃjagmānau diva ā pṛthivyāyuh (TB. 1. 1. 2.). *iyam sthālī ghṛtasya pūrṇā*, this pot is full of (= filled with) butter (TB. 3.7.6.11). Cf. RV. : *īataṃ kumbhāñ asiñcan surāyāḥ* (1.156.7). *pūrṇān purisrutāḥ kumbhān* (ŚB. 11.5.5.13).

Cf. Pali : *udakassa pūrāpetvā* (J. 1. 99); *elaṭūkānaṃ yānakam pūretvā* (J. 1. 205).

Cf. the use of Gk. πλεως, πλήρης : Lat. *plenus* ; Lith. *pilnas* ; Goth *fulle*.

Also Pali : *sariraṇ vethetvā ayaśāya teladoniyā pakkhipitvā aññis-*

sa *ayasāya* *doniyā* *paṭikujjēvā* (Mahāp. 242). : *akaraṇīyā* *va* *bho* *gotama* *vajji* *raññā* *māgadhe*.....*yadidaṃ* *yuddhassa* (Mahāp. 52).

Cf. Av. : *āat* *hvaṃ* *tanūm* *gēuś* *maēsmana* *nōit* *āpō*, let her purify her body with cow-urine, not with water (Vend 8. 37; 16, 12). *paṛisr̥vartēm* *ayaṃhahe*, surrounded with iron (Ys. 11. 7). *āat* *azēm* *manya* *manāhō*, and I think in mind (Ys. 10. 106).

12. Ablative Genitive.

Sometimes the genitive is available in such constructions where there is room for the conception of "belonging to" and "proceeding from".

grah : *yo* *vā* *brāhmaṇo* *bahuyājī* *tasya* *kumbhyānām* *grhṇīyāt*, he should take them from the tank of a Brahman who performs many sacrifices (TS. 6.4.2). *catasṛṇām* *dhārāṇām* *āgrayaṇam* *grhṇāri*, takes the Āgrayaṇa from the four streams (SB. 4.3.5.22). *tā* *vai* *syandamānānām* *grhṇīyāt* (SB. 3.9.2.4).

jan : *apām* *taptānām* *pheno* *jāyate*, foam is prepared in heated water (SB. 6.1.3.2).

dā (*apa-ā*) : *apādāya* *bhasmanah*, after taking some of the ashes (SB. 6.7.4.14). This may be classed also with the partitive genitive.

dhā (*ā*) : *vanaspatinām* *samidham* *ādadhāti*, when one puts firewood from trees (SB. 11.6.1.8).

labh (*ā*) : *tāsūṃ* *varam* *ālabhata*, he chose a boon from them (TS. 3.1.2).

vṛj : *tā* *etad* *devā* *asurāṇām* *avṛñjata*, the gods wrested them from Asuras (SB. 9.2.3.23). *te* *devā* *asurāṇām* *dīśo* *vṛñjata*, the gods wrested the region away from the Asuras (SB. 9.2.3.8).

hṛ : *atha* *me* *idam* *ahārṣit*, yet has he taken these things from me (SB. 12.7.3.1).

śaśc : *anyavratasya* *śaścima*, of him of another law let us free ourselves (SB. 14.3.1.19).

śru (desiderative) : *tasmād* *udīcyūṃ* *dīśi* *prajñātatarā* *vāg* *udīyāta* *udañca* *u* *eva* *yanti* *vācam* *śikṣitūṃ* *yo* *vā* *tata* *āgacchati* *tasya* *vā* *śuśrū-* *ṣante*, therefore in the northern quarter is speech uttered with more

discernment, and northwards go men to learn speech; he who comes thence to him men harken (KB. 7.6). Cf. RV : *asmākaṃ ic chr̥ṇuhi* [7.28.1]; *śrudhy asya* (7.38.2). Cf. Gk. κλῦθι μιν ἀργυρότοξε and τοῦ δὲ κλίε φοῖβος 'Ἀπόλλων.

Cf. Pali : *idaṃ āyasmato ānandassa sutvā* (Mahāp 246); *assosi kho bhagavā āyasmato ānandassa subhaddena paribbūjakena saddhiṃ imaṃ kathulāpaṃ* (Mahāp 247).

Under the ablative genitive come such uses as :
kṛṣyamāṇasya avān (ŚB. 3.8.2.17). *nagarasya pūrvam*, east of the city. See *infra*, Genitive with Adverbs.

13. Genitive with the Adjective.

There is no special idiom in the use of the genitive with adjectives. Such uses generally follow the analogy of the types of the genitive discussed above.

sarvasya hyeva mitro mitram. Mitra is everybody's friend (AB. 5 3. 2.7).

priya eva annasya, dear to food (ŚB 4.6.9.6). *te priyaṃ dviṣatāṃ kurvanti*, they do what pleases their enemies (ŚB. 3.4.2.3).

sarvam vāsya prītam bhavati, all is pleased with him (ŚB. 2.4. 4.18). Cf. cl. Skt. *tuṣṭāhaṃ tava mitrasya* (Vetālapañcaviṃśati p. 10).

yad eva yajñasya sādhu (AB. 1.9.1.22).

atyasūriṇī adhvaryor nāśukā syāt, there would be a violent torrent to destroy the Adhvaryu (TS. 2.6.5.).

anūrdham bhāvukaṃ yajumānasya syāt, it would not go aloft for the sacrificer (TS. 2.6.5.).

tasmāt striyaḥ pumso 'nuvartmāno bhāvukāḥ, whence women are apt to follow man (ŚB. 13.2.2.4). *sāmno ' nuvartmānaṃ kuryāt* make him a follower of the Sāman (AB. 8.4.3). *bhrūtṛvyas tena yajamānsya pratyudyamī bhavati*, thereby the rival of the sacrificer is energetic against him (KB. 18.1),

anyasya kṛtānukaro 'nyasya upāvasūyī bhavati (ŚB. 1.6.3.34).

anupajīvanīyatarā asya etc, these are less fit to yield him a livelihood (ŚB. 6.52.19).

tatho hāsya etad amṛdhram bhavati, thus it becomes unfailing for him (ŚB. 11.1. 6. 31).

udañco ha smaiveśām palāyya mucyante, by fleeing northwards they had indeed escaped from them (ŚB. 1.2.4.10).

īśvara : (with genitive infinitive) : *viśaḥ khalu vai rājñe pradātor īśvarāḥ*, the subjects indeed are able to give (us) the king (TS. 3.1.8). *ko'syēśvaro yajñe 'pi kartoh*, who is able to produce this also at the sacrifice ? (TS 2.6.7). Cf. Pali : *aham tumhākaṃ pasanno* (J. 1.302).

14. Genitive with the Adverb.

The examples would explain the uses.

yo' lam prajāyūḥ san prajāṃ na vindate, who, though fit for progeny, does not get any (PB. 18.5.2).

triḥ.....ahnah, thrice a day (ŚB 11.5.1.1). *sa triḥ samvatsarasya pacyate*, thrice in a year it ripens (AB. 24.5.4). *sa yat triḥ samvatsarasya vijūyate* (ŚB. 3.3.3.8). *dviḥ samvatsarasya annam pacyate*, food ripens twice a year (ŚB. 6.4.5.9).

(These properly belong to the Partitive Genitive. Vide P. *kṛtvo 'rthaprayoge kāle 'dhikaraṇe* 2.3.64).

adhaspadam aśvasya upaplāvayati, plunges it under the horse's feet (ŚB. 1.3.1.29).

saptānām girīnām parastāt vittam vedyam asurāṇām bibharti, keeps the wealth of the Asuras which is to be worked beyond the seven hills (TS. 6.2.4). *saṃvatsarasya parastāt*, at the end of the year (AB. 10.1.5).

paścād grhyasya agneh, behind the domestic fire (AB. 37.6.9).

udicah kṛṣyamāṇasya avān (SB. 3.8.2.17). Cf. the use of *parō*, *pasca*, *pascaṭa*, *paśne*, *mat* etc. in Avesta.

yathā bahūnām madhyūt sūdhave karmaṇe juṣeta, out of many as one should wish to perform a good deed (ŚB. 3.6.4.7).

tam madhye somagrahāṇām sūdayati, deposits it in the middle of the Soma receptacles (ŚB. 5.1.2.19).

yo 'sya abhitaḥ pūpmā āsīt (SB. 8.5.1.15). *prāṇasya ubhayataḥ* (ŚB. 8.6.2.16). *asya dakṣiṇataḥ* (ŚB. 2.5.2.10). [Vide P. *ṣaṣṭhya-*

tasarthapratyaya 2.3.30]. *antaram mukhasya jihvā*, the tongue is inside the mouth (AB. 24.3.1).

no hānte gor nagnaḥ syāt, in the presence of a cow one should not be naked (ŚB. 3.1.2.17).

eṣū nediyo yajñasya, she is nearer the sacrifice (ŚB. 2.1.4.15).

nediṣṭham svargasya lokasya agacchat, went nearest to the world of heaven (AB. 12.8.4). *puruṣo vai prajāpater nediṣṭham* (ŚB. 2.6.1.1), *etaḥ vai apām gambhīṣṭham*, that is the deepest (place) of the waters (ŚB. 7.5.1.8).

15. Genitives with the Adverbial Preposition.

The genitives with genuine prepositions is very rare and this idiom was probably absent in the parent Indo-European. I have found only one instance : *tasyā anu virsrjya*, having shot at her (AB. 13.2.3). But then ' *tasyā* ' can be taken as dative also.

The genitive with adverbial prepositions is not rare :

adhas : ātmano 'dhaḥ, under himself (ŚB. 4.2.4.14).

adho 'dhas : havirdhānasyādho 'dhaḥ, just beneath the cart (ŚB. 3.5.4.3).

upari : ātmana upari (ŚB. 4.2.4.14).

INDEPENDENT GENITIVE.

16. Causal Genitive.

When the relation of cause and effect is implied the cause takes the genitive if the word *hetu* is actually used (P. *ṣaṣṭhī hetuprayoge*, 2.2.26 ; *sarvanāmnas tṛtīyā ca*, 2.3.27).

śvo nodetyabhrasya vū hetoḥ, tomorrow he will not rise on account of clouds (ŚB. 11.1.4.1).

asya hetoḥ prajā na parābabhūvuh, on account of this the people were not defeated (ŚB. 2.5.2.8).

Cf. RV : *akṣasyāham ekaparasya hetor anuvratām apa jūyām aro-dham* (Gambler's Lament). This idiom occurs frequently in the works of Kālidāsa and other classical poets, e. g., *alpasya hetor bahu hūtum icchan* (Raghu 2) ; *gatvā sadyaḥ kalabhatanutām śighrasampātahetoḥ* (Meghadūta 2.20) ; *mām ākūṣapraṇihitabhujaṃ nirdayāśleṣahetoḥ* (ibid. 2.45).

17 Adverbial Genitive.

In RV. there are a few temporal genitives used adverbially :
e. g. *aktōh*, *kṣāpah* *kṣarāh*, of a night : *uśāsah*, of a morning.

But in the Brāhmaṇas treated here no single instance has been noted. Still in the classical literature one or two such adverbial genitives are met with : e. g. *cīrasya* : *saṃnayaṃ tulya-guṇaṃ vadhūvaruṇ cīrasya ūcyaṃ na gataḥ prajāpatiḥ* (Raghū 7) *cīrasya mītravyasanī sudamo damaghoṣajāḥ* (Śiśupālavadha 2). Cf. Pali : *kālassera ūhārakiccaṃ nīttāpetvā* (J. 1.107 ; cf. J. 1.103 ; Cullav 12.2.4). *cīrasa* (J. 1.120, etc.). Cf. Gk. *νικτός*, *ἡμέρας*, *δείλης*, *χειμῶρος*, *εἰρος*, *δέρους* etc.

Cf. AV : *thrityo* *रात्रौ*, in the third night (Vend. 19.28) ; *hamāhe ayūn hamayūo* *रात्रौ*, in the same day and night (Yt. 8.54).

18. Elliptic Constructions.

(i) Omission of the substantive with possessive genitives :

etena vai prajāpatir eṣāṃ lokānāṃ udabhinat, by this Prajāpati created (the things) of this world (PB. 16. 6.2). *tāni vā etāni catvāri vūcaḥ*, there are four (forms) of the call (ŚB. 1.1.4.12).

sa eṣāṃ āpūyat, he stunk in their nostrils (ŚB. 4.1.3.6).

katham teṣāṃ āndro bhavanti, how are their (verses) connected with Indra ? (AB. 28.2.1).

vīco vā annam adyate, it is through (the channel) of speech that food is eaten (ŚB. 9.3.2.4).

paśor aśnīyāt, should eat (the flesh) of the victim (AB. 6.3.11).

sa dhenvai ca anaduhāsa nāśnīyāt, he should not eat (the flesh) of the cow and the bull (ŚB. 3.1.2.21). *tasmād ajasya nāśyam* (TS. 3.7.3.2). *na dīkṣitasya aśnīyāt*, should not eat (the food), of one consecrated (AB. 6.9.6).

vīva hi striyai pumūn grhnāti, a man takes apart, as it were, (the limbs) of his wife (KB. 14. 2).

(i) Genitive of Authority.

The person whose opinion is quoted or referred to, takes the genitive; the qualified substantive, some such words meaning 'in the opinion of', is uniformly understood. This is a very frequent idiom in the Sūtra literature. There is a similar idiom in the modern Marathi language.

tad dha ekeṣām, that is according to some (ŚB. 1.9.2.2). *jaḡha-nena patnīm eti ekeṣām adhvaryuḥ*, according to some the Adhvaryu walks behind the wife (ŚB. 1.9.2.3).

Cf. *lopaḥ śākalyasya*, there should be omission (of the *visarjanīya*) according to (the opinion of) Śākalya (P. 8.3.19); *alam-khalvoḥ pratiḥdhaḥ prācūṃ kvā* (P. 3.4.18).

(ii) Sometimes the substantive (denoting a part with reference to a whole) of the partitive genitive is not expressed.

teṣām nveva abruvan, some of them said (PB. 4.1.2). *eteṣāṃ varṇānāṃ api pavitre kuryāt*, the stainers may be of any of these colours (PB. 6.6.10).

(iii) The genitive of the subject-matter.

athūto dikṣūyā ūvedanasyaiva, then as to the announcement of the consecration (AB. 34.7.1). *athūto 'naśanūśanasyaiva*, then as regards fasting and eating (ŚB. 1.1.17). *athūto 'bhyudītāyāḥ*, next as to the Abhyudītā sacrifice (KB. 4.2).

Perhaps some such verb as "*ākhyāyate*" is understood, or less well, some such substantive as *kathā* or *vivaraṇam* is unexpressed. The former explanation is more satisfactory.

19. Genitive Absolute (Vide AS. pp. 389-90; Hübschmann p. 280).

The genitive absolute is totally unknown in RV. but is a very frequent idiom in Cl. Skt. (Vide de Saussure, L'emploi du génitif absolu en sanscrit). In the Vedic prose it is found but rarely. This use arose from the possessive genitive and this character is obvious in the examples which follow. Partitive genitive also has contributed to this idiom, e. g., *teṣāṃ ha uttiṣṭhatām uvāca* when they were rising up he said = of them rising up he said

(AB. 35.1.4). The substantive (whether expressed or understood) is accompanied by a present, past or perfect participle.

The genitive absolute generally denotes a circumstance, and not a temporal relation. And this fact accounts for the "anādara" theory of Pāṇini (2.3.38).

(a) With the present participle : *teṣūṃ hottiṣṭhatām uvāca*, when they were rising up he said (AB.35.1.4). [Prof. Keith, however, does not find any instance of gen. abs. in AB.]. *teṣūṃ cetayamānānām prajāpatiḥ...apaśyat*, whilst they were meditating Prajāpati saw (ŚB. 6.2.3.1). *tasya tepānasya sapṭāmanyō devatū udakrūman* (TB. 3.8.10.1). *sa etā vipruṣo 'janayata yā imāḥ skūyamānasya vipravante* (MS 2. 1.11). *tasya kritasya manuṣyān abhyupūvartamānasya diśo viryāṇīndriyāni vyudamśidan*, the strength and powers of him, when bought and going toward men, went away to the quarters (AB. 3.13), *teṣūṃ adyamānām syūmaraśmīr ṛṣir aśvam prūviṣat* (KS. 8. 5), *prajāpater vai prajāḥ śiṣṛkṣamānasya tasyendrāgnī prajā apūgūhatām* (KS. 9. 17).

(b) With the past participle : *tasyai ālabdhūyai sū vūg apacakūma*, when she was being sacrificed voice departed (ŚB. 1.1.4.16). *tasmūd apām taptānām pheno jāyate* (ŚB. 6.1.3.2).

(c) With the perfect participle : *prajāpater ha vai prajāḥ sarjūnasya parvūṇi viśasraṃsuḥ*, when Prajāpati was creating offspring his joints relaxed (ŚB. 1.6.3.35). *tasyūvanenijūnasya matsyaḥ pāṇi āpede*, when he was performing ablutions a fish came to his palms (ŚB. 1.8.1.1). *tasya vṛtram jaghmusa ṛtarvo 'muhyan*, of him, when he had slain V., the seasons were confused (TS. 6.5.5). *devūnām vā astam jagmuṣūm indriyam vīryam apakrūmat* (TS. 7.5.8). (See *infra*, Locative Absolute).

For Pali cf. *tassa viravantasse'va satthu santikaṃ gantvā* (Dhammapada 80); *bhūṃjamānasa me*, when I was eating (Girnar VI. 3).

For Avesta cf. *kahmūi azem ughrem xṣathrem-amuinīmnahe man-ahno paui dathani ... kameredhō janō aurvahē vanato avanemnahē* (Yt 10.109); *višpem ā ahmāt nasunamca aiwivarštanam daxmanamca aiwivarštanam hixranamca aiwivarštanam vayanamca frauharetanam* (Vend 5.14). Cf. Vend. 19. 28,

LOCATIVE

The locative case expresses the situation in or at, or in other words, it "signifies the scene of an action".

In origin the locative denoted the spot or space in, and as such, was hardly capable of being used with names of persons or abstract nouns. But when these words were inflected in the locative they could only be used in the sense approaching the locative. Thus originated the sense of *to, near, among* etc. with the locative. Pāṇini gives this definition of the locative: *ādihāro 'dhikaraṇam*, 'the locative expresses the indirect field of operation of an action' (1.4.5).

In late cl. Skt. the locative often replaced the genitive. Thus, *janmani yūnām tad eva phalam* (Kathāsaritśāgara 3. 64); *viśvastaū cāpi papraccha haime vapuṣi kārāṇam* (ibid. 3.31).

The following are the typical uses of the locative :

I. Independent Locative :

(a) place, (b) circumstance, (c) person, (d) time

II. Locative of Distance.

III. Locative with Verbs, including

(a) Instrumental Locative

(b) Dative Locative.

IV. Locative with Nouns and Adjectives.

V. Locative with Prepositions.

VI. Locative Absolute.

1. The Locative is used independently to denote (P. 2.3.36) :

(1) The notion of being within a spot or territory :

sa prajāpatiḥ puṣkaraparṇe vāto bhūte' lelūyat, Prajāpati, becoming wind, rocked about on a lotus leaf (TS. 5.6.4). *ya-mun ar dhe bhavati*, in which place he lives (ŚB.1.5.4.6). *mā me 'dya iśāyām vātsit*, let him not dwell this day in my dominions (ŚB. 5.311.13 .) *devā ha vai sarvacarau satraṃ niśeduḥ*, the gods held a sacrificial session at Sarvacaru (AB. 26.1.1). *devā vai bale gāḥ paryapaśyan*, the gods saw the cows in a cave (AB. 29.8.1). *tasya śṛṅge*

nāvaḥ pāśam pratimumoca, he tied the knot of the boat on its peak (ŚB. 1.8.1.5). *tā mahyam asminn āsane 'cchidraṃ śarma yacchala*, in this seat do ye, to me, accord unfailing protection (AB. 40.4.5.b). *āgnīdhre upavasanti*, they spend the fast day at the Āgni-dhra's altar (AB. 10.4.1). *taṃ tu tvā mū girau santam udakaman-taś chaitṣil*, let not the water cut thee off whilst thou art on the mountain (ŚB. 1.8.1.6). *yajñavāstāv evāham āse*, on the place of sacrifice I am sitting (ŚB. 12.3.4.1). *tad dha sma purā yajña-muho rakṣāṃsi tīrtheṣvapo gopūyanti*, now aforesometimes the Rakṣas, the confounders of the sacrifice, used to watch the waters at the fords (KB. 12.1).

(2) Sometimes the locative expresses not *in* or *within* but *very near* to some place or something (the *sāmīpya* or *antikārtha'* locative): *ṛṣayo vai sarasvatyām satram āsata*, the Ṛṣis held a sacrificial session on the (bank) of the Sarasvatī (AB. 3.1.8). *tarhi videgho mādghava āsa sarasvatyām*, then Mādghava of Videgha was near the Sarasvatī (ŚB. 1.4.1.44). *aṣṭāsaptatīm bharato dauḥ-ṣantir yamunām anu gaṅgūyām vṛtraghe 'badhnāt pañcapañcūśataṃ hayān*, seventy-eight steeds did Bharata, son of Duṣṇanta, bind for the Vṛtra-slayer on the Yamunā, and fifty-five near the Gaṅgā (ŚB. 1.3.5.411). Cf. *āsedur gaṅgūyām pāṇḍunandanāḥ*, the sons of Pāṇḍu settled near the Ganges (Mbh. 1.170.3) *mādhyamāḥ sarasvatyām satram āsata* (KB. 12.3).

(3) Abstract type :

senūjyāṃ ca samitau ca ṛtīyante, they fight in army and battle (ŚB. 8.6.1.16). *tasmād yoge 'nyūsūṃ prajānām manaḥ kṣeme 'nyū-sām*, therefore the minds of some creatures are set on energy, those of others on rest (TS. 5.2.1). *devasya savituh save karma kṛṇvanti vedhasaḥ*, on the impulse of the god Savitr wise ones perform the rite (TS. 1.1.9). *supārā no asad vaśe*, may it guide us safely according as we will (TS. 1.2.3). *eṣa hi bahūnām sam-ane diryate yat kalaśaḥ*, a pitcher breaks in an assembly of many (PS. 9.4.4). *putraṃ videya tava samdr̥śi*, may I obtain a son in thy sight (ŚB. 3.3.1.12). *devānām hāpi satre gr̥hapatir āsa* (AB. 39.7.4). *taṃ agniḥ pṛtanāsu abhītaṣṭhau*, him Agni overthrew in battles (ŚB. 6.8.1.14). *tad dhiṣṇyānām brūhmaṇe vyākhyāyate*, that is explained in the chapter on the Dhiṣṇyas (ŚB. 3.2.4.1).

(4) The locative expresses also the circumstance under which some action takes place.

From this type of the locative the absolute locative has partially originated (See infra : Loc. Abs.).

tasmād agincid varṣati na dhāvet, hence the piler of fire should not walk while it rains (TS. 5.4.9). Cf. *ekadā prāviśad goṣṭham śrūdūlo niśi varṣati* (Bhāgavatapurāṇa 9.2.4). *nikāme nikāme naḥ parjanya varṣatu*, may Parjanya rain for us whenever we desire (TS. 7.5.18). Cf. ŚB. 13.1.9.10. *yāsya kāme senū jayet*, he who desires the victory of a host (AB. 12.11.7). *tasmād varṣaty aprūvṛto vrajet*, hence when it rains, one should go about uncovered (ŚB. 7.5.2.21). *atha yū ūtapati varṣanti*, as it rains while the sun shines (ŚB. 5.2.4.13). *tasmād utsedham prajā bhaye 'bhisamśrayante*, whence people in danger betake themselves to an elevated place (ŚB. 13.2.2.9). *aśubhe medyati*, grows fat in unrighteousness (ŚB. 2.4.2.6). *sūchhūvākasyainam gopanāyam jahāra*, she carried him off while he was under the charge of the Acchāvāka (ŚB. 3.6.2.12). *avira iva me 'jana iva putram haranti*, alas, they are taking away my darling, as if I were where there is no hero, no man (ŚB. 11.5.1.3). *anne bhāty apaśrito janānām sam-kṣare 'mṛtaḥ*, concealed in food, he, the immortal, shineth at the flowing together of vital saps (ŚB. 10.5.2.18).

Cf. Pali : *dhammamhi sīlamhi tīṣṭanto* (Girnar IV. 9); *imamhi ahamhi (va)dhī ca ahīni ca* (Girnar IV 10/11).

Cf. Cl. Skt : *avagrāhe yathā vṛṣṭim prārthayante kṛṣibālāḥ*, as in drought the cultivators pray for rain (Bhaṭṭikāvya 6.48).

(5) The locative sometimes denotes "in the matter of": *tasmād dhūpy etarhi vittiyām vyūkuḥ*, even now in a question of property they say (AB. 13.4.1). *atha hiraṇye vūcayati*, he makes him say in the matter of gold (ŚB. 3.3.2.6); *eteṣv akṣeṣv ūha*, on these dice he says (ŚB. 5.4.4.23). *yajūṃsy anaso 'gnau*, the formulas relate to the cart in the (matter of) building of the fire-altar (ŚB. 6.8.1.1). *taṃ hi dharme upayanti*, to him they come in (matters of) law (ŚB. 5.3.3.9). *yadveva prajāsu ca prajāpatau ca gāyati*, he sings about offspring and Prajāpati (ŚB. 9.1.2.42).

(6) The person in whom something rests (this often closely approaches the possessive genitive) :

asti vā idam mayi vīryam, there is this vigour in me (PB. 20.15 6). *tasmin na tūvac cāna eno bhavati yāvat kumāre*, there is in him not even that much of sin as in a child (ŚB. 4.4.5.23). *nāsmims tūvac canaino bhavati ya etamveda* (PB. 11.1.24). *etāvad vai paśau śuklam*, what is bright in the animal (ŚB. 6.2.2.14). Cf. *yo vai tci mado yaḥ sūman*, what ecstasy there is in the R̥c and in the Sāman (ŚB. 4.3.2.5). *tasmād yosūyām payah*, whence there is milk in the female (ŚB. 6.5.4.15). *payo vatsesu*, the milk in the calves (AB. 25.2.8). *yo'yam manusyeṣu prāṇaḥ* (AB. 9.2.1.8). *ajinūni mṛgeṣu bhavanti*, there are (these) skins on deer (ŚB. 11.8.4.3). *satyam ... yad asureṣu āsa* (ŚB. 9.5.1.15). *saiśū vāg vanaspatiṣu vadatyā dundubhau*, it is the voice of trees, the voice that is heard in the drum (TS. 6.1.4). *sa eṣa gavi sāmno hinikārah*, this, same sound 'Hin' of the Sāman was in the cow (ŚB. 2.2.3.12). *ā'many asya hi tū bhavanti*, on his self they are (AB. 32.11.3). (Aufrecht here reads *hitāḥ* for *hi tūḥ*).

(7) Locative plural of persons (proper names) is a very old idiom. It is Indo-European, as it is distinctly preserved in Homeric Greek.

yad idam sṛñjayeṣu rāṣṭram tat tvayi dhāsyāmi, I will confer upon thee that dominion over the Sṛñjayas (ŚB. 12.9.3.2).

(8) The locative of person sometimes indicates the many in which an individual is spoken of. (It may be called 'partitive locative'). See *infra*, locative with adjectives.

brāhmaṇkalpas te prajāyām ājaniṣyate, a Brahman-like (son) shall be born in your offspring (AB. 35.3.2). *ṛbhavo vai deveṣu tapasā somapītham abhyajayan*, the R̥bhus by the fervour among the gods won the drinking of Soma (AB. 13.6.2). *yukte yuñjāneṣu*, yokes him (best) among those who are yoking (TS. 5.5.3). *prajāyām enam vijñātsma yadi*, in his offspring will we know him if he offer with knowledge or without knowledge (AB. 25.5.15). *rādhnavān me sa prajāyām*, he shall be successful among my progeny (ŚB. 3.1.3.5). *ye janeṣu malimlayaḥ*, who are waylayers among men (ŚB. 6.6.3.10).

(9) The locative of time denotes the time within which the action of the verb occurs. This is also the function of the

temporal accusative (or instrumental). The former denotes the limit of time, the action taking place any time within that period, while the latter signifies the whole time occupied throughout by the action. Thus : *devā vai prathamēnāhnū indrāya vajrāṃ samabharaṃs, taṃ dvitīyenāhnūśiṃcāṃs, taṃ tṛtīyenāhnū prūyacchāṃs, taṃ caturthe' haṃ prāharat* (AB. 16.1.1).

caturthe' haṃ prāharat, struck (him) on the fourth day (AB. 16.1.1). *saṃvatsare vai retāḥ śikṭaṃ jñyate*, in a year the seed poured is born (AB. 17.8.1). *saṃvatsare vā annaṃ sarvaṃ pacyate*, in a year all corn ripens (PB. 4.10.4). *tasmā etad saṃvatsare'nnam samaskurvan*, in the course of a year they prepared for him this food (ŚB. 10.4.1.1). *etam saṃvatsara eva cinuyāt*, one ought to build him up (in space of) a year (ŚB. 6.1.3.20). *daśame māsi jñyate*, is born in the tenth month (AB. 33.19). *tasmād dheman mlāyanty oṣadhayaḥ*, hence in winter the plants wither (ŚB. 1.5.4.5). *vasantū*, in the spring (TS. 2.1.2). *kaṃ svid evūparīṣu mahūnāgṛṇi vūbhisamṣūraṃ didṛkṣutāraḥ* (ŚB. 11.2.7.12). *varṣāsu āgāte śyāmākāsasye śyāmākān uddhartavā āha*, in the rains when the millet harvest has come, he gives orders to pluck millet (KB. 4.12).

Cf. Pali : *yasmim samaye viharati tasmim samaye* (Mahap. 73) ; *tāyaṃ velāyam* (ibid 78). *save kale* (Girnar VI. 3) ; *tisu catunmāsisu* (Delhi V. 11).

Cf. Av. : *ayan vā varetoṣshō varetoṣvīrē* (Vend. 8.4) ; *ithra vā asni ithra vā khshafne*, in day or in night (Vend. 4.1).

Sometimes the locative appears even in the place of the accusative or the instrumental of time : *saṃvatsare va anubrūyāt*, should recite for a year (ŚB. 6.1.3.20). *darśa-pūrṇamāsayor upavasati*, he fasts on the full-moon and new-moon (AB. 32.10.1).

(10) The temporal locative sometimes indicates that something happened at the end of the period.

tataś catursu māsasu ... trirātrah, then at the end of four months the Trirātra (ceremony) should be held (PB. 17.13.12). *tataḥ saṃvatsare yosit sambabhūva*, then at the end of a year a woman was born (ŚB. 1.8.1.7). *te hūditvāḥ pūrve svargam lokam jagmuḥ paścevāṅgīrasaḥ śaṣṭhyām vā v r. eṣu*, the Ādityas first went

to the world of heaven, behind the Aṅgirasas at the end of sixty years (AB. 18.3.5). *sa ha samvatsare jāyamāna ikṣāṃcakre* (ŚB. 3. 2.1.2). *sa samvatsare vyūjīhīṣat*, at the end of a year he tried to speak (ŚB. 11.1.6.3). *cire eva kuryūt*, let him make it a long time after (ŚB. 13.8.1.). *yadyenāṃ samvatsare nopanamet samūhah punar ādadhyāt* (TB. 1.1.71). *tapas taptvū garbham adadhata tata eṣa ādītyo' jāyata saṣṭhe mūsi* (KB. 25.1). *nūrdhamūseṣu na mūseṣu ārtim ūrcchati* (TB. 3.10.10.3). [Note : *vaṣaṭkūre juhuyāt*, let him offer when that *Vaṣaṭ* is uttered (ŚB. 2.5.3:18). Here a non-temporal word has been used in a temporal sense].

Vide the Vārtt. *yataścūdhakūlanirmāṇam* (4), *tadyuktūt kāle sapṭamī* (5), under P. 2.3.28.

2. Locative of Distance.

The locative sometimes signifies the distance at which one object is from another (this, latter, may sometimes be understood).

(Vide the Vārtt. *yataścūdhakūlanirmāṇam* (4), *tadyuktūt kāle sapṭamī* (5), *adhvanah prathamā ca* (6) under P. 2.3.28).

sahasrūśvīne vā itaḥ svargo lokah, the world of heaven is at a distance of a thousand journeys of a horse hence (AB. 7.7.8). *vyadhve hyeṣa itaḥ*, that (sun) is half way from this (earth) (ŚB. 9.2.3.15). *eṣāṃ sahasrayojane dhanūṃṣy avatanoti*, he unstrings their bow at a thousand leagues (ŚB. 9.1.1.29).

badhūna devaḥ savitaḥ paramasyām parāvati śatena pūṣaiḥ, O god Savitr, bind him in the furthest distance with a hundred fetters (TS. 1.1.9).

abhitāḥ pare rauhiṇa-haranyau srucau hastau eṣmīn etad dadhātī, and on the two sides yet further away the two Rauhiṇa offering-ladders, whereby he gives two hands to it (ŚB. 14.3.1.29).

yadi dūre syāt, if he be far away (TS. 7.4.5). *yadyapi dūre iva paśūn labhate*, even if a man gets cattle at a distance (AB. 12.13. 13). *atyantike no dūre sthāpayet* (ŚB. 3.5.3.19). *ūre śatrūn krnuhi*, drive afar the foes (TS. 1.2.3).

urhainam jānumatre dhūrayati, they then lift him up knee-deep (ŚB. 12.8.3.20). *aratnimātre*, at a cubit's distance (ŚB. 6.0.1.30),

3. Locative with Verbs.

The following classes of verbs govern the locative.

Rejoice in :

ram : *etasmin paśavo na ramantē*, in it the animals do not rejoice (PB. 16.7.2). *etasmin paśavo na ramante ye 'paśuḥ* (PB. 17.7.2). *iśvaro hūsyā viltē devā arantoḥ*, gods are liable to be ill-pleased in his gains (AB. 15.4.8). *asme ramasva yajamāne ramasva*, rejoice in us, rejoice in the sacrificer (ŚB. 3.3.1.6). *gīte ramate*, delights in song (ŚB. 6.1.1.15). *agnau paśavo ramante*, animals delight (being) near the fire (ŚB. 6.2.1.12), *na vai brahmaṇi kṣatram ramate* (ŚB. 13.1.5.2). *tūsāṃ jaratkakṣe paśavo na ramante* (TB. 3.3.2.4). *upanivartam iva vai paśavaḥ sauyavase ramante*, cattle unending as it were rejoice in the good grass (KB. 11.5).

tṛp (sam) : *pavamāne ha vā u prūtaḥ sarvā devatāḥ samtṛpyante*, all the gods rejoice together in the morning in the Pavamāna (Soma) (KB. 12.5).

rdh : *asyām ṛdhyet hotrāyām*, may he prosper in this sacrifice (ŚB. 1.9.1.12). *rdhyate 'smai kṛṣau*, (he) prospers in agriculture (PB. 11.5.8).

ji (vi) : *vyasmin loke jayate* (AB. 12.6.2).

rūdh : *eteṣu kūmaṇ rūdhnuyāt* (AB. 30.10.16). *sarvāsu dikṣu rūdhnuyāt*, he would prosper in all quarters (AB. 2.2.9).

rudh (ava) : *tasmin sarve kāmā avarudhyante*, in it all desires are won (AB. 7.7.9).

Injure at :

himś : *na vai lomasu viṣaṃ kiṃ ca hinasti*, neither poison nor anything else injures one at the hair (ŚB. 9.1.1.10).

vidh : *ye anneṣu vividhyanti pātreṣu pibato janān*, they who assault men in their food, and in their cups as they drink (TS. 4.5.11),

This idiom, though rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is very frequent in classical Sanskrit; e. g. *hṛdi kṣato gotruvid apyamarṣaṇaḥ* (Raghu. 3. 53); *raghur bhṛṣam vaksasi tṛṇa tūḍitaḥ* (ibid.).

Hope for, trust in :

śaṃs (ā) : *yo rājye āśaṃsamāno rājyaṃ na prāpnuyāt*, who hoping for kingdom does not get it (PB. 19.1.1). *yo rājye āśaṃsetu yajeta* (PB. 21.5.1).

yo vai paramatām gacchati tasminnāśaṃsante, in him who attains high rank people indeed put their trust (ŚB. 1.6.4.17). *tasminn āśaṃsante*, people have hope for him (ŚB. 8.5.2.1).

(cf. *āśaṃsante samitiṣu surā baddhasairū hi daityair asyādhiḥye dhanuṣi vijayam pauraḥṛte ca vaje* (Sakuntalā). A similar construction obtains with *viśvas* in the classical literature : e. g. *pūṃsu viśvasiti kutra kumārī. na viśvasat utīśvaste viśvaste nātiviśvaset* (Pāñcatantra).

Let share in :

bhaj (ā) : *imān asminn uktha ābhajati* (AB. 12.9.1). *lokeṣu ābhajanti*, give a share in these worlds (AB. 13.5.1). *ā mū sucarite bhaja*, let me share in the right ways (TS. 1.1.12; ŚB. 3.3. 3.13). *tā yajña ābhajati* (ŚB. 1.5.2.4). *rayyām ca poṣe ca yajña-patim ābhajanti*, they grant to the lord of the sacrifice a share in wealth and affluence (ŚB. 9.2.3.8). *yā vai prajā yajñe 'nvābhaktāḥ* (ŚB. 1.5.2.4).

arj (ati) : *imam turīye 'tyārjata*, he admitted him to a fourth share (AB. 9.1.2).

kṛp (causative) : *sve vai sa tat some 'kalpayat* (AB. 12.2.4).

Request, ask :

iṣ : *te deveṣu somapītham aicchan*, they besought the gods for the Soma drink (TS. 6.3.1). *asyām eva icchāmahai*, from her let us seek (our desire) (AB. 12.11.1). *asminn anuśāsanam iṣe*, he

sought instructions from him (AB. 30.4.13). *deveṣu praśāsanam icchate* (ŚB. 1.5.1.26). *ṛtavo ha deveṣu yajñe bhāgam īṣire*, the seasons were desirous to have a share of sacrifice among the gods (ŚB. 1.6.1.1). *sū heyaṃ deveṣu sutyām apitvaṃ īṣe* (ŚB. 4.1.2.6). *yat pitā putreṣu icchate*, if a father wishes to obtain anything from the sons (ŚB. 8.4.1.4). *yaṃ deveṣu āśiṣam icchet*, if one desires to invoke any blessing from the gods (ŚB. 10.3.5.14). *tasyām aicchanta* (AB. 12.11.1). *tasmād u stry anurūtram patyāṃ icchate*, every night the wife seeks approval from her husband (KB. 6.13).

pracch : *deveṣu apr̥cchetām*, asked the gods (PB. 25.13.3).

yāc : *sa yat tatra yācītaḥ*, being asked in this matter (AB. 35.2.4).

Call in question :

mīmāṃs : *yaṃ palre vā talpe vā mīmāṃseran*, regarding whom they have doubts as to (admitting him to) common meals or to marriage (TS. 6.2.6). *brāhmanam pītṛe na mīmāṃseta* (PB. 6.5.9). *yāṃs talpe vā udake va virāhe vā mīmāṃseran ta etū udeyuḥ* (PB. 23.5.2).

Struggle for :

spṛdh : *purodhāyāṃ spardhamānuḥ*, who has a dispute for Purohitaship (TS. 2.1.2).

yaṃ (vi -ā) : *devatāsu vā ete prāṇāpānāyor vyāyacchanta*, they contend as to the deities and to expiration (TS. 3.1.7). *kadrūśca vai suparṇī cātmarūpayor vyāyacchetam*, Kadrū and Suparṇī had dispute (for the sake of) each other's form (TS. 6.1.6). *devās ca vā asurāś ca ādītye vyāyacchanta* (PB. 5.5.15). *rāṣṭre ete vyāyacchante*, it is after royal sway that these strive (ŚB. 13.1.6.3).

ju (vi) : *vīci eva brahman vijigīṣāmahai*, let us try to overcome one another, by speech, by sacred writ (ŚB. 1.5.4.6).

hims (ā) : *jahnuvrcīvanto rāṣṭre ahimsanta* (PB. 7.12.2).

yat : *devānām eva āyatane yatate*, striving for the abode of the

gods (TS. 2.2.6). *bṛhatyā vai devāḥ svarge loke 'yatanta*, by means of the Bṛhatī the gods strove to reach heaven (ŚB. 12.2.3.1).

(causative): *enam etasyām dīśi yūtayet*, should make him contend in that quarter (AB. 37.6.7). (*sam*): *devāsurā eṣu lokeṣu samayatanta*, the gods and the Asuras fought over these worlds (AB. 10.4.1). *devāsurā vā eṣu lokeṣu samyetire*, the gods and the Asuras strove for these worlds (AB. 37.6.1).

vad : *devā vai brahman avadanta*, the gods discussed regarding holy power (TS. 3.5.7). *mā etasyām vadadhvam*, do not claim it (TS.).

(*sam*): *dakṣiṇāsu tveva na samvaditavyam*, let there be no bargaining as to the sacrificial fees (ŚB. 9.5.2.16). (*vi*): *tasmin vyavadanta*, they disputed about it (ŚB. 8.6.3.3). Cf. *kṣetre vivadante* (Kāśikā on P. 2.3.36).

Desire :

gardh : *pṛtīṣveṇa gandharvā gardhiṣyati*, the Gandharvas will hanker after women (ŚB. 3.9.3.20).

Claim :

va : *turiye haiva saṃgrahitāro vadante 'munā evānūkāṣeṇa*, the charioteers claim a fourth of the booty, for force of the example (AB. 9.1.6).

Satisfy :

pā (*caus*) : *tasmin brāhmaṇān pāyayitai brūyāt*, let the priests be asked to drink it (ŚB. 2.3.2.8).

ruc (causative) : *tasnūd u śreṣṭhī pātre rocyaty eva yaṃ kūmayate tam*, therefore does one of high rank honour at his table him whom he desires (AB. 13.6.3).

Eat or drink from (vessel) ; (See Instrumental).

(*To be continued*)

STUDIES IN ECONOMICS OF ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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I—DIVISIONS OF LEARNING IN ANCIENT INDIA

In ancient India the Vidyās or Branches of Learning were variously grouped for various purposes, sometimes into four, sometimes into fourteen or eighteen in number. Thus the four fundamental branches into which all knowledge was divided were *Ānvīkṣikī*, *Trayī*, *Vārttā* and *Danḍanīti*, commonly rendered into English as Philosophy, the three Vedas, Economics and Polity.¹

Thus Kauṭilya says in his *Arthaśāstra* :—

“ आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्चेति विद्याः

Bk. I. Ch. II.

And so also Kāmandaka in his *Nitisāra* :—

आन्वीक्षिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्च शाश्वती ।

विद्याश्चतस्र एवैता योगक्षमाय देहिनाम् ॥

Ch. II. Sl. 2.

“ *Ānvīkṣikī*, *Trayī*, *Vārttā* and *Danḍanīti*,— these are the four eternal branches of knowledge that conduce to the happiness of corporeal beings. ”

Similar enumerations of the four primary Vidyās lie scattered throughout the vast field of Sanskrit literature from the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* downwards to the different *Dharmaśāstras* and *Purāṇas*. In fact, it is not always that all the four Vidyās find mention by name, for many implied or allegorical references to them are also to be met with. Thus in the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 318, 34-5, 47) *Ānvīkṣikī* has been called the fourth (*Caturthī*) Vidyā. In explaining the passages in question the commentator *Nīlakantha* makes no mistake in mentioning the names of the remaining three. Similarly in his *Nyāya-bhāṣya*

¹ Jacobi rendered them as Philosophy, Theology, Science of Industries and State-Craft. See I. A. 1918. p. 102.

Vātsyāyana also mentions Ānvīksikī as the fourth Vidyā.¹ So also in the Rāmāyana (II. 100. 68) only three Vidyās (*tisrah vidyāḥ*) are referred to. Again, in another passage of the same work (III. 185) the attainment of the fruits of the four Vidyās have been mentioned as one of the merits accruing from bathing at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. Surely, the four Vidyās can be no other than those we are discussing. The Niti-sāra of Kāmandaka has a description of a tree of Polity of which the four Vidyās have been called the four roots,—“He is indeed a real politician who knows the tree with eight branches, four roots, sixty leaves, two props, six flowers and three fruits” (VIII. 42). Similarly, again, in the *Yuktikalpataru*, the different Vidyās have been compared to the branches and flowers of a tree. In the beginning of the work, the reason why it has been called a tree has been thus explained: “The root of this tree is Daṇḍanīti, (Polity), the stem is Jyotiṣa (Astronomy and Astrology), the various vidyās are its branches and flowers, its fruits are unknown and its sap is nectar to the good, *i. e.* promotes their welfare.” (S/S. 6-7.).

The branches of knowledge were thus primarily divided under four fundamental heads, *viz.* Ānvīksikī, Trayī, Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti. But there were differences of opinion among various schools about their relative importance. Different schools held different branches of knowledge as useless or but sub-divisions of the one or the other of them, and thus sought to reduce the number of Vidyās. Kautilya met the views of these prior writers in the course of his work and sought to refute them. The arguments both for and against maintaining the number of Vidyās at four may appear, however, jejune to the modern world from the present day view point. According to the school of the Mānavas, the sciences are only three in number, for Ānvīksikī is nothing but a special branch of the Trayī. The Bārhaspatya school sets down the number of sciences at only two, *viz.* Vārttā and Daṇḍanīti. They eliminated the Trayī on the ground that the three Vedas were merely an abridgement or pretext (*Saṃvarana*) to a man, expert in worldly affairs. The school of Uśanas holds that there is only one science in the world, *viz.* the science of Polity and

¹ “यासाम् चतुर्थी इयमान्वीक्षिकी न्यायविद्या”

that in it all other branches of knowledge have their origin and end. It does not mean, however, that these different schools of political thinkers totally denied the existence of one or more of the Vidyās, but the truth lies in the fact that according to the views held by them these latter had no independent existence as branches of knowledge. They were therefore mere appanages of the Primary Vidyās according to their view point.

After giving the opinion of his predecessors Kauṭilya expressed himself in favour of maintaining the number of the Vidyās at four and only four, from which, according to him, all that concerns righteousness and wealth could be learnt.¹ These four branches of learning thus divided between them the whole field of human knowledge and stood on a level of equal importance. In fact, the four primary Vidyās were so wellknown and their importance to man was so thoroughly recognised that it came to be considered that there could not be any normal earthly community that did not possess them.

The ancient writers in their conception of a state of perfect bliss and happiness, far away from the toils and miseries of the world, sometimes mention as necessary conditions among many others that the different orders and classes of society, their various occupations and the four sciences have no existence there. Thus the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (II. 4. 83-4), the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (49. 118), and the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* (55. 126) in their description of the Puṣkara-Dvīpa say that all men there are perfectly equal to one another, that there are no distinctions of class and orders and that Vārttā, Trayī, Daṇḍanīti, Servitude and Śilpas do not exist there. Similar descriptions of the various Dvīpas are also given by the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Thus in one passage (122. 99) it says that the Kuśa, Krauñca and Śālmali, Dvīpas are devoid of the Varṇas, Āśramas, Vārttā, the Planets, Moon, malice, jealousy and fear. In another passage (123. 23-4) it says that in the last three of the seven Dvīpas truth, falsehood, righteousness, unrighteousness, Vārttā of the different Varṇas and Āśramas, cattle-breeding, commerce, agriculture, the three

1 Arthaśāstra Bk. I, Ch. II. See also Kāmandaka's Nītiśāra, II. 3-6.

Vedas, Daṇḍanīti, servitude, punishment, rain, rivers, heat and cold have no existence.

The supreme importance of the four Vidyās was so firmly rooted in popular mind that in course of time the different deities came to be associated with and became indivisibly identified with them. The best illustration of it is the case of the Goddess Durgā among whose different appellations we find the names of the four fundamental branches of learning mentioned. Thus she was known by the names of Trayī, Ānvīkṣikī, Vārttā, and Daṇḍanīti, and the reasons why she is called so is also set forth in the hymns addressed in praise of her.¹ So also in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa (I. 9. 118-9) the Goddess Lakṣmī has been praised as being herself the different Vidyās Ānvīkṣikī, Trayī, Vārttā, and Daṇḍanīti.² In the Devī-māhātmya of the Caṇḍī, or to be more accurate in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, of which it forms but a part, the Devī has been called Trayī, for she protects men from the worldly woes and Vārttā removes the troubles of the created beings (Ch. 84. 18). Again in another passage of the same Purāṇa the different Vidyās and Kalās are said to be but manifestations of Herself. In explaining the passage the commentator quotes the verses I. 9. 118-9 and III. 6, 28-8 from Viṣṇu Purāṇa and gives the number of Kalās as sixty-four.

The hold that the four-fold division of the Vidyās had got over the minds of the ancient writers in India is best illustrated by the fact that in describing the encyclopaedic character of any voluminous literary work it is often said that it embraced the four sciences within its fold.³ Various other classifications of Vidyās were made in ancient times, sometimes into fourteen, sometimes into eighteen, often into thirty-two, and at times again into a still larger number. One authority, however, very wisely lays down that the Vidyās are nearly innumerable.

1 Devī-Purāṇa Ch. 45.

2 A similar account is also to be found in Agni-Purāṇa (237. 5) where, however, Vārttā has been left out ; See also Skanda Purāṇa, Brahmakhanda, Setumāhātmyam, 46, 54 ; 50, 72-3.

3 त्रयी चान्वीक्षिकी चैव वार्ता च मरुतर्षण ।

दण्डनीतिश्च विपुला विद्यास्तत्र निदर्शिता ॥

The celebrated grammarian Patañjali (Circa 150 B. C.) has a Vārttika to show the use of a special affix to denote study of texts to various kinds of knowledge the names of which end in the terms *vidyā* or *lakṣaṇa*. From Sanskrit Literature we come to know the names of a large number of such subsidiary Vidyās such as *Aśva-Vidyā*, *Sarpa-Vidyā*, *Megha-Vidyā*, *Nakṣatra-Vidyā*, *Brahma-Vidyā* and others. It is, however, apparent that the term *Vidyā* here, as also in the lists that divide all Vidyās under fourteen or eighteen heads, cannot have the same significance as the term has when it gives the number of primary branches of learning as four and only four. It will be found upon ultimate analysis that all these subsidiary Vidyās are reducible to the four fundamental heads. Under the circumstances, it appears, therefore, not only convenient but also imperative to take the term *Vidyā* of the enlarged lists in the sense of "lore," rather as branches of knowledge which were only four in number.

The fourteen Vidyās were the four Vedas, their six Āngas, Mimāṃsā, Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra, and the Purāṇa, while the four additional sciences that raised the number to eighteen were Ayurveda (Medicine), Dhanurveda (Archery), Gāndharvaveda (Music), and Arthaśāstra,¹ taken to be *Upavedas* or supplementary works to the Rik, Yajus, Sāma, and Atharva Vedas respectively. However, eighteen became the traditional number of the Vidyās with the Indians. And Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, a late mediaeval scholar of great erudition, followed the same classification of the sciences in his *Prasthānabheda* or "Manifoldness of methods".

In the Pali Buddhist literature also, we meet with a similar division of knowledge under eighteen heads. The Jātakas contain many references to the three Vedas along with the eighteen sciences (*Śippas* or *Vijjāthānāni*) as acquired by students of those days. It is true that the Jātakas do not themselves mention the names of the eighteen sciences. That they cannot be wholly identical with the Brahmanic classification is apparent from the fact that the three Vedas find separate mention. However, there

¹ It is difficult to render the word by any single equivalent term into English. Polity which it is commonly taken to be is not wholly identical with it, for, Arthaśāstra is, as we shall come to see subsequently, both Economics and Politics combined, with many things more.

is no sufficient reason to hold that on the whole the two systems did not approximate to each other.

We find, however, a much more enlarged list of Vidyās in the Śukranīti. It has been wisely remarked by the author or authors of the work that the Vidyās and Kalās are really innumerable and hence cannot be counted. But the number of the primary Vidyās is thirty-two and of the Kalās is sixty-four. The Śukranīti draws a characteristic distinction between the two—"Vidyā is that which can be uttered while Kalā is that which can be done even by the dumb." The distinction between Vidyā and Kalā is therefore all the difference between Science and Art as one should say these days. We shall treat of the Kalās later on. The different Vidyās as given in the Śukranīti are,—the four Vedas and their four Upavedas: Āyurveda, Dhanurveda, Gāndharvaveda and the Tantras,² the six aṅgas, Mīmāṃsā, Tarka, Sāṃkhya, Vedānta, Yoga, Itihāsa, Purāṇas, Smṛtis, Theory of Sceptics, Arthasāstra, Kāmasāstra, Śilpasāstra, Alankāra, Kāvya, Deśabhāṣā or the languages of the country, Āvasokti or the art of speaking properly, Yavana philosophy and manners and customs of countries and actions.

The Jaina literature gives a still larger list of sciences. In the *Kalpasūtra* we find the Arhat Rṣabha saying that during his reign he taught the seventy-two sciences, sixty-four accomplishments of woman, one hundred arts and three occupations of men.³ Be that as it may, whether the number of Vidyās be placed at fourteen, eighteen, thirty-two or even at any larger number, it will be found, as we have said already, upon ultimate analysis that they are all reducible to the four fundamental branches into which the ancient Indians primarily divided their field of knowledge. Kāmandaka (II. 13) reduced the first fourteen Vidyās under one single head, the Trayī or Theology. So it is proper to take the term Vidyā in this enlarged sense, to mean 'lore', and the 'Sippam' and 'Vijjāthānāni' of the Jātaka stories

1 Chapter IV. Sec. III, 45-48.

2 Thus Arthasāstra is shifted from its position as an Upaveda of the Atharva Veda and becomes one of the minor Vidyās.

3 S. B. E. Vol. XXII, P. 282.

in the sense of 'arts' and 'sources of human learning.' Thus we restrict the meaning of *Vidyā* as branch of knowledge only to the four primary heads. There can be no doubt about the fact that the division of the whole field of human knowledge under four primary heads was based upon a thoroughly systematic and accurate principle and served best the purposes of the people who made it.

II NATURE AND SCOPE OF VĀRTTĀ.

The word *Vārttā* is derived from the root *vṛt* by the addition of the suffix *त्त*. Thus *Vārttā* etymologically represents *vṛtti* or means of livelihood. However, *Vārttā* was particularly used to denote the means of livelihood specially allotted to the *Vaiśyas* or the third members of the Aryan social grade. And no wonder, for we are to remember that in ancient times the *Vaiśyas* were none else but the great mass of the Aryan community apart from the sacrificing and the fighting classes; and these had to carry on all wordly callings relating to the production of wealth. What these callings were, or, what is equivalent to the same thing, what the group of occupations denoted by the term *Vārttā* was we shall come to see later on in detail; suffice it to mention here that the functions of the *Vaiśyas* were primarily divided under three heads, *viz.* Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, and Commerce. Along with the use of the term *vārttā* as a collective name for the occupation of the *Vaiśyas* it was also used, as has been seen already, as the designation of a division of learning pertaining to knowledge relating to those occupations. It is thus apparent that the attainment of *Vārttā* to the status of a *Vidyā* could only take place at a time when the different means of livelihood came to be allotted to the different castes.

Vārttā is thus used in two different senses in Sanskrit Literature. In the primary sense, it stood for the group of occupations specially set apart for the *Vaiśyas*. The secondary meaning of *Vārttā* follows from the primary one, and the science that had *Vārttā* as its subject of study came also to receive that appellation. We shall now see what was conceived to be the proper scope of *Vārttā*. Perhaps it will not be uninteresting to

mention it along with those of the other three sister sciences as the ancient thinkers in India took them all to have been.

According to Kauṭilya righteous and unrighteous acts धर्मधर्मौ are known from the Trayī, gain and loss of wealth (अर्थार्थौ) from Vārttā, right and wrong policies (नयनयौ) from Daṇḍanīti. Kauṭilya's passage describing the normal provinces of the Vidyās may be given thus, —“Inasmuch as philosophy (आन्वीक्षिकी) examines (religious) merit and demerit in Theology, profit and loss in the science of Industries, right and wrong policies in State Craft and also discusses, with reasons, the relative importance of these (three sciences), it serves mankind, gives correct insight into prosperity and adversity, and lends sharpness of intellect and cleverness in business methods¹. What Kāmandaka has to say about the nature of the four Vidyās is nothing but a mere versification of the words of his political Guru (II. 7 ; also Agni Purāṇa, 238.9).

In the Śukranīti, the spheres of the sciences are somewhat increased; probably because of the changes due to the circumstances brought about by time. According to the view preserved in that work, Ānvīkṣikī comprised *Tarkavidyā* (Logic) and Vedānta also.² While virtue and vice as well as interests and injuries of man are based on the Trayī; profit and loss of wealth on Vārttā; and good and bad government on Daṇḍanīti. In conclusion the author or rather the authors of the work have not forgotten to add that all classes of men and all the stages of human life are built upon these branches of knowledge.³

1 Arthaśāstra Bk. I., Ch. II. The passage given above is according to Jacobi's interpretation given in his article on the "historical analysis of the evolution of Ānvīkṣikī". See I. A. 1918, p. 102. Dr. Shamasastri translates the passage somewhat differently. What immediately concerns us is the scope of Vārttā which according to Kauṭilya was "arthānarthau" or profit and loss of wealth. Other writers also give a similar view of the subject.

2 For the origin and development of Ānvīkṣikī see the interesting article of Jacobi, an English translation of which has been published by Dr. V. S. Sukhthankar in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, P. 102.

3 Ch. I. 305-08.

Vārttā was thus the branch of learning that had wealth for its subject of study. In other words, it was the science devoted to the systematic study of the material interests of the people with a view to their pursuit and development.

Now we shall try to show that Vārttā was originally the special function of the Vaiśyas, and so the knowledge relating to the occupations of the Vaiśyas primarily constituted the science of Vārttā. But later on, as we shall also see, the scope of Vārttā as well as the occupations of the Vaiśyas came to be widened and the functions of the Śūdras also came to be included within the science. Thus after its fullest expansion the science came to include all subjects bearing on wealth within its fold.

The Mahābhārata in a characteristic passage describes the nature of the different Vidyās. Therein it has been said that the Trayī, Daṇḍanīti and Vārttā are meant for the Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas respectively and that a man proficient in his own Vidyā is able to gain his livelihood by the proper application of his learning in practical life. It has been further said that without the Trayī there would have been no trace of righteousness on earth, that anarchy would have been rampant had there been no Daṇḍanīti; and lastly that in default of Vārttā mankind would have disappeared from the face of the earth. It is only upon the proper application of the knowledge derived from the various Vidyās each in its proper line that man tends to walk in the path of virtue.¹

Just as the means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas were originally taken to be only three, *viz.* Agriculture, Cattle-breeding and Trade, so also in its primary conception Vārttā, comprised those three subjects only.² Thus it has been said by Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra कृषिवृक्षपाल्ये वाणिज्यं च वार्त्ता,³ that is 'Agriculture, Cattle-breeding and Trade constitute Vārttā'. Kāmandaka also writes to the same purport thus, "The occupation of those who live by rearing cattle and by cultivation and trade is called Vārttā. Well up in Vārttā a man has nothing to be afraid of for his livelihood" (II.14). In the Rāmāyaṇa (II. 100. 47) among the questions put by Rāma

¹ Mbh. III. 150. 30-1.

² The subject will be treated of in detail in chapter IV.

³ Bh. I. Ch. IV.

to Bharata when the latter came to the forest to take him back to Ayodhyā, we find one typical query pertaining to Vārttā. Rāma inquired of Bharata whether his agriculturists and cowherds, in fact, people well up in Vārttā, were prospering in this world. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in a characteristic passage mentions the fact that Vārttā comprised three occupations; Agriculture, Trade, while the third was made up by cattle-tending.¹

The same fact is also to be known from the Jain canonical works. We have already seen the testimony of the Jain *Kalpa-sūtras* wherein we find that the Arhat Rṣabhadeva taught for the benefit of the world the seventy-two sciences, the sixty-four accomplishments of women, one hundred Arts and the three occupations of men.² Surely these latter could have been no other than the three occupations of the Viś, with which we have by this time become familiar. The fact that these occupations were taught to people is sufficient evidence that Vārttā in its primary sense had risen to be a branch of knowledge. So also in the Buddhist *Petavatthu* it has been said that in the Petaloka there is no cultivation, no cow-keeping nor any trade or industry by which *petas* can live. From these and numerous other references scattered throughout various works it is apparent that the topics that came within the purview of the science of Vārttā were naturally these three means of livelihood that were included within Vārttā in its primary sense of occupation. However, its scope was not always limited to those three subjects only, but became gradually much wider. In this way *Kuśīda* i. e. usury or lending of money at interest came to be included within the scope of Vārttā just as it also became, as we shall see later on, one of the Vṛttis or means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas. Thus in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* (X. 21. 21.) Vārttā has been said to be fourfold (*Caturvidhā*) viz. *kṛṣī*, *vāṇijya*, *go-rakṣā* and *kuśīdam*.³

1 कृषिर्वाणिज्यं तद्वर्तु तृतीयं पशुपालनम् ।

विद्या द्योता महाभाग वास्तो वृत्तित्रयाशयाः ॥ V. 10. 28.

2 S. B. E. XXII. p. 232.

3 कृषिर्वाणिज्यगोरक्षा कुसीदं त्वर्मुच्यते ।

वास्ता वतुर्विद्या तत्र वयं गोपुत्रयोऽनिशम् ॥

Śukranīti also says that in Vārttā are treated interest, agriculture, commerce, and preservation of Cows. The man who is well up in Vārttā need not be anxious for earnings (I. 311-12). In explaining the verse (IV. 18) of the *Daiṇāṭīya* of the *Caṇḍī* or rather of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* of which it forms but a portion, the commentator has explained the word Vārttā¹ as कृष्यादिवृत्तयोरुक्तं and says that the Vṛttis are कृषिर्वाणिज्यमोरस्यसिद्धयः. So also does he explain the word Vṛtti,² in another *śloka* as "कृष्यादिवृत्तयः प्राक्क्रियास्तु". So Vārttā came to include four subjects, Agriculture, Cattle-breeding, Trade and Lending money at interest, which functions are also repeatedly referred to in ancient works as the occupations of the Vaiśyas, as we shall come to see in a subsequent chapter presently.

Originally the various arts and crafts did not pertain to the three twice-born classes, but belonged to the Śūdras. It is but a common knowledge from history that in the division of labour among all communities whether in the East or in the West, in ancient or modern days, all the higher and honourable professions are appropriated by the conquering or dominating classes while the menial occupations and those involving manual labour are left to the Helots, Plebeians, Serfs or Śūdras. So then in the original conception of Vārttā the arts or crafts (*Śilpa* or *Kārukarma*) did not enter into it, as they belonged to the province of the Śūdras, while Vārttā was the function of the Vaiśyas. This appears from the distinction, between *Vārttopāya* or methods of Vārttā and *Karmajū Hasta-Siddhi* or arts and crafts involving manual labour and dexterity, made in some of the Purāṇas, e. g. in *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (I. 6. 20) and in *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (49. 73). The separate mention of the two is sufficient evidence that originally the various arts and crafts were not included within Vārttā—a fact borne out to a remarkable extent by the testimony of no less a personage than the great Kautīlya himself. When we come to consider the various professions followed by the Śūdras we shall find that his work is the only authority in the vast field of Sanskrit Literature that lays down that Vārttā was one of the duties prescribed for the Śūdras. But he also specifies their other professions which constitute the

1 84. 18.

2 85. 27.

proper duties of the Śūdras according to the orthodox viewpoint, viz. service to the twice-born classes as well as the profession of handicraftsmen and bards.¹ This is sufficient proof that *Kārukarma* or industries and crafts were primarily excluded from the scope of Vārttā.²

But in the gradual widening of the field of Vārttā the various industries also came to be comprised within it. In the Devī-Purāṇa, *Karmānta*, i. e. manufacture, has been added to Vārttā.³ So also in the Mahābhārata (XII. 167. 10-11) the various arts and crafts (*vividhāni Śilpīni*) have been included within Vārttā. Therein we find that Arjuna, who has been characterized as an expert in Arthaśāstra, (*Arthaśāstra-viśūrada*) in reply to a query by Yudhiṣṭhira about the relative importance of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mokṣa expresses himself in favour of the second object of life. He says that this world is a land of action where Agriculture, Trade, Cattle-tending and the various Arts and Crafts find favour. The inclusion of manufacture or industries within Vārttā was but a natural step in the process of the evolution and growth of that Science, for an art or occupation with any amount of economic significance could not but form part of the science that dealt with wealth.

Thus after its fullest expansion Vārttā came to include all branches of knowledge bearing on wealth and thus became the highest category of learning relating to the material interests of the people, with a view to their pursuit, acquisition and development.

As Vārttā was primarily the occupation of the Vaiśyas, it is but natural to suppose that from a detailed account of the function of the Vaiśyas from the orthodox viewpoint we can get a concrete and definite idea about the scope of Vārttā as it was conceived by the ancient writers of India. We are indebted to the Code of Manu for such a description. A brief summary of

1 शुद्रस्य द्विजानिबन्धुना कारकृद्शीलवकर्म च । Bk. I. Ch. III.

2 It is curious that one writer includes *Kārukarma* within the scope of Vārttā upon the strength of the particular passage (see Buch's *Economic Life in Ancient India*, p. 12).

3 67. 13.

the passage will suffice to show what arts and occupations had come to be conceived of as what the Vaiśyas should know and hence as proper subjects of Vārttā. Thus it is said that the Vaiśyas should be always engaged in Vārttā such as dairy-farming, for the Lord made over the animals to his care. They should have knowledge of the prices and qualities of jewels, pearls, corals, iron and other metals, woven cloths, fragrant substances and articles used as pungents (*rasas*); of sowing seeds, qualities of the soil, weights and measures good and bad qualities of commodities and similar characteristics of different countries, profits and losses of articles of trade, and methods for increasing the breed of cattle; wages of labourers, different languages and proper markets for buying and selling.¹

It is clear that all these various duties owe their origin to those primary functions of the Vaiśyas which were originally three in number, *viz.*, agriculture, dairyfarming and commerce. That it was not possible for a single man to acquire proficiency in all these details of work and perform them all requires no amount of reason to demonstrate. The different sections of the Vaiśyas or the masses of the people performed different works, and it was never incumbent upon every single member of the community to take to the pursuit of them all simultaneously. A remarkable story is found in some of the Purāṇas bringing the fact clearly home to us. The story is one among many others about the achievements of the youthful Kṛṣṇa in Vrajabhūmi. The version in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa is somewhat elaborate and contains such a very fine exposition of the meaning of Vārttā, its different aspects and their inter-relation, that we think we may find justification for giving it here.

One day arriving in Vraja, Kṛṣṇa found that the cowherds were engaged in the performance of a great sacrifice to Indra. On His enquiring as to why they were sacrificing to Him, he was told by his foster-father Nandagopa that it was the Great Indra who sent down the rains that made the earth fertile and led to the growth of vegetation which so benefited men and cattle. At this Kṛṣṇa became angry, and remarked that those people only who gain their living by agricultural pursuits might have occasion

1 Manu IX. 336-32.

to offer sacrifices to Indra ; but those who lived by cattle-tending were under no obligation to revere Him. He said " O father ! We are neither agriculturists nor traders, but we are denizens of the forests and the cows are our deities. Of the four Vidyās, Trayī, Ānviksikī, Vāritā and Dandanīti, hear from me what Vārttā is. Vārttā is divided under three heads according to the differentiation in the means of livelihood such as agriculture, trade and cattle-breeding. Of these agriculture is the calling of husbandmen, trade of the merchants, and to us the cattle are the chief means of livelihood. The Vidyā in which one is engaged is his chief deity, and, as such, is to be revered and worshipped by him, for he is eminently benefited by it. The man who enjoys the fruits of one but worships another does not acquire excellence either in this world or in the next. " He further added that it was rather the hills that they ought more properly to worship for they went to the hills to tend their cattle. Hence according to Him they ought rather to exchange their sacrifice to Indra for one to the hills.¹ The same story is to be found in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa also. But there the disquisition about the nature of Vārttā is not so elaborate. However, therein Vārttā has been termed fourfold in scope by the inclusion of *kusīda*.²

- 1 न वयं कृषिकर्तारो वाणिज्याजीविनो न च ।
 गार्होऽभ्यर्द्धं देवतं तान् वयं वनचरा यतः ॥
 आन्वीक्षिकीं त्रयीं वार्त्तां दण्डनीतिस्तथापरा ।
 विद्यान्तुष्टयं त्वेनत् वार्त्तामत्र गृणुष्व मे ॥
 कृषिर्वाणिज्या तद्वन्तु तृतीयं पञ्चपातनम् ।
 विद्या ह्येता महाभाग वार्त्ता वृत्तिवयाश्रयाः ॥
 कर्षकाणां कृषिर्वाति पश्यं विपणिज्जीविनाम् ।
 अस्माकं गाः परावृत्तिवार्त्ता भेदैरियं त्रिभिः ॥
 विद्याया यो यया युक्तस्तस्य सा देवतं महत् ।
 तेषां पूज्यार्चनीया च तेषां तस्योपकारिका ॥

—Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, V. 10. 26-30

- 2 कृषिर्वाणिज्यगोरक्षा कुसीदं तुर्यमुच्यते ।
 वार्त्ता चतुर्विधा तत्र वयं गोवृत्तयोऽभिज्ञाः ॥

—Bhāgavata Purāṇa, X. 34. 21.

The two passages quoted show with sufficient clearness that it was never intended that the different functions denoted by the term Vārttā should be followed by every individual Vaiśya. But different members of the community pursued the one or the other of these different means of livelihood for which Vārttā was a collective term.

Vārttā was an important branch of learning in ancient India. In fact, it was looked upon with the same reverence as was commanded by the Vedas. This appears from a variety of considerations. When we come to deal with the subject of Arthaśāstra we shall find that it was a very important type of literature in ancient India, dealing especially with the subject of material interests of the community. The literature was variously designated Arthaveda, Arthavidyā or Arthaśāstra and was looked upon as an Upaveda, sometimes of the Rk,¹ but more generally of the Atharva Veda. We shall also see that Vārttā largely entered within Arthaśāstra, for it was especially a science of Economics and Politics combined. However, in Kauṭilya's time Arthaśāstra was not an Upaveda, but one of the component elements of *Itihāsa Veda*, or the Fifth Veda that was looked upon as of the same status as the Atharva Veda. The aim of Arthaśāstra was to enable princes to acquire and maintain the earth. And it must be recognised that polity and economics are both of supreme importance for such an object. The former supplies one of the chief means to carry out that object while the importance of the science of wealth upon the art of government can hardly be overrated. Kauṭilya described the merits of Vārttā in these words "It is most useful in that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce and free labour. It is by means of the treasury and the army obtained solely through Vārttā that the king can

¹ Carapavyūha 49, 13.

hold under his control both his and his enemy's party."¹ His work was primarily a manual meant for princes and therefore looked upon the importance of Vārttā from its own particular point of view.

As the systematic study of wealth, Vārttā was looked upon with great importance in ancient India. From the division of the whole field of human knowledge under four primary branches, it appears that these sciences stood on a level of equal importance. That the economic science was looked upon in Ancient India with the same reverence as was commanded by the Vedas appears from a variety of considerations. This is apparent not only from the four-fold divisions of the sciences, but also from the express mention of the fact. Thus the Mahābhārata contains several passages about the virtues of Vārttā.² The first passage says that it is only the fools that abandon the three Vedas, Vārttā and their own sons to assume the three-pointed rod and the cloth dyed red (i. e. turn ascetics). The second passage holds that the world has its roots in Vārttā and is borne by the three Vedas and that it is only upon the king's protecting properly that they are all maintained. While the third passage, calls the world a place of action where Vārttā finds favour.

These passages demonstrate with sufficient clearness the ideas of the ancient Indians who conceived that men were as much indebted to Vārttā for their material interests, as they were to the Vedas for their spiritual well-being.

Thus we come to see that the economic science was looked upon in ancient India as scarcely less important than the Vedas, the Holiest of Holies, the Voice of God Himself.

¹ Arthasāstra Bk. I. ch. IV.

² Mbh. XII. 12. 83; 68. 53; 167. 11.

III. RELATION BETWEEN VĀRTTĀ AND OTHER SCIENCES

Vārttā was pre-eminently the ancient Indian science of **wealth**. But there was another branch of knowledge in ancient India, variously known as Arthasāstra, Arthavidyā or Arthaveda, which was looked upon, as has been said already, as an Upaveda, sometimes of the Rgveda, and, at times again, of the Atharvaveda. As is implied by the name, this science also had *artha* for its subject-matter. The province of Vārttā was *arthūnarthau* (अर्थानर्थौ) i. e. profit or loss of wealth. So one may come hastily to conclude that Vārttā and Arthasāstra denoted essentially the same science or what is equivalent to the same thing that the two terms are mutually interchangeable. But such a view would be widely divergent from the truth, for the two Vidyās, though possessing some grounds in common between them, are yet characterised by fundamental and far-reaching differences that maintain their separate identity in the field of human knowledge. The relationship between the two Vidyās will be clear from the definitions that we have of them. And we shall therefore first of all see how Kautilya, the author of a celebrated treatise upon Arthasāstra, has defined the two branches of knowledge. We have already dealt with his definition of Vārttā. This was according to him the Vidyā that dealt with *arthūnarthau* or profit and loss of **wealth**. This is how he delivers upon its merits.

“Vārttā is most useful, for it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest produce (*kūpya*) and free-labour (*viṣṭi*). It is by means of the treasury (*koṣa*) and the army (*daṇḍa*) obtained solely through Vārttā that the king can hold under his control both his and his enemy's party”.¹

The nature and scope of Arthasāstra has been described by Kautilya. “The means of subsistence of mankind is termed *artha*, in other words, the earth containing mankind is *artha*; and the science that treats of the means of acquiring and maintaining the said earth is called Arthasāstra”.² From this it follows clearly that Arthasāstra really treated of *artha* in the sense of the ‘earth’.

¹ Bk. I. Ch. IV.

² Bk. XV. Ch. I., Jolly's text, p. 264; Dr. Sham Sastri's Ed. p. 426; Dr. Ganapati Sastri's Ed. vol. III, p. 241.

and not in its primary sense of 'wealth' which was the subject that properly pertained to the field of Vārttā. Arthaśāstra was thus essentially the science that treated of the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth. The work of Kauṭilya mentions the same fact in another place, for it actually commences with the statement that it was composed by the author as a compendium of almost all the Arthaśāstras written by prior teachers for 'the acquisition and maintenance of the earth.' From this it follows that Arthaśāstra was really a very comprehensive science as its data were drawn from a wide variety of sources, for any subject that had more or less intimate bearing upon the means of acquiring and maintaining the earth could not but naturally come within its scope. It requires no great logic to demonstrate that Daṇḍanīti was the most important branch, in fact the fundamental basis of Arthaśāstra, for the Science of Polity or the art of government 'upon which the progress of the world depends',² was of the utmost importance to princes in their efforts to acquire and maintain the earth. But Vārttā also supplied no mean quota to the science, for it was through Vārttā and Vārttā alone that two of the seven limbs of the state, viz., Koṣa, Daṇḍa could be acquired. Thus in a sense Arthaśāstra was nothing but Daṇḍanīti drawing largely upon Vārttā and different other subjects having more or less intimate bearing upon the art of state-craft. The Śukranīti recognizes this double aspect of Arthaśāstra when it defines it as the science which describes the actions and administrations of kings, as well as the means of livelihood in a proper manner.³

From this follows that Arthaśāstra was essentially a double science comprising both Economics and Politics within its fold. Dr. Law laid stress upon only one aspect of Arthaśāstra, viz., the economic one, when he said that it "deals with wealth, but as good government is the *sine qua non* of peaceful acquisition of

1 Bk. I. Ch. I. It is interesting to note in this connection that the 'Prince' of Machiavelli is also actuated by a similar motive for the rules set forth in the work were intended by the writer to be made use of by princes in their policy of expansion and acquisition.

2 तस्यामायन्ता लोकयात्रा --Bk. I. Ch. IV.

3 Bk. IV. Sec. III. 110-111.

wealth, it treats of Polity also," and again that "Arthaśāstra concerns itself with the economic development of the country, but has to do in a large measure with Polity (Dandāniti) which helps to create and maintain the condition precedent of economic development".¹ But it deserves to be noted that Arthaśāstra never dealt with 'artha' in the sense of wealth, that was primarily the subject matter of Vārttā.² Arthaśāstra may be defined as essentially the Science of Polity, that dealt incidentally with certain of the topics of Vārttā and of other sciences, because of their practical bearing upon the actual work of administration. In fact, this double aspect of Arthaśāstra has often given rise to a confusion of ideas and has led to its being designated sometimes Polity and at times again Economics by writers at different times.

Later on, Arthaśāstra was divested of its economic topics and became simply the political science. In later Sanskrit literature this use is made of the word Arthaśāstra, and the terms Nitiśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Dandāniti, and Rājaniti are used indiscriminately to represent the Science of Polity or the Art of Government.

From what has been said hitherto regarding the nature and scope of Arthaśāstra, the relationship in which the two Vidyās stood to each other has been made sufficiently clear. Vārttā was the general science of wealth or the systematic study of the material interest of the community. While Arthaśāstra or the science whose primary aim was to supply such a knowledge to kings as would enable them to acquire and maintain the earth naturally dealt with certain of the topics of Vārttā along with various other subjects, because of their bearing upon the point. In a sense, therefore, Arthaśāstra was more comprehensive or universal in scope than Vārttā, as its data were drawn from a wide variety of sources, which though holding their own as separate branches of learning in the field of knowledge entered

1 I. A. 1918. pp. 235-6.

2 It is somewhat curious that such a profound scholar as Winternitz draws a line of demarcation within Arthaśāstra itself and distinguishes between the śāstra that deals with *artha* in the sense of the second object of human life and the one that treats of *artha* in the sense of the earth with a view to determine the means for its acquisition and maintenance. It is difficult to follow the learned professor in his views.

largely within it; while in its economic aspect it could not but fall under Vārttā the highest category of learning relating to material interests.

We shall now examine the relationship between Vārttā and Arthasāstra somewhat in detail and show how Arthasāstralargely worked upon the data supplied by the other science. We have given Kautīlya's description of the merits of Vārttā. It will be noted that therein he looked upon Vārttā from the point of view of the statesman, for Arthasāstra was essentially a practical manual of statecraft. He has said of Vārttā that it brings in grains, cattle, gold, forest-produce and free labour and that by it alone are Kosa and Daṇḍa acquired. The question of the exchequer is one of the vital problems of the State. Revenue or incomes are the props of the state. And this question has disturbed politicians of all ages and all climes. The Arthasāstra fully recognized the value of a well-filled treasury, when it laid down that "all undertakings depend upon finance and hence foremost attention should be paid to the treasury" (II. 8). And so it advised the king to carry on mining operations, manufactures, exploit timber and elephant forests, offer facilities for cattle-breeding and commerce, construct roads for traffic both by land and water, and set up market-towns (II. I). All these go to show the diverse activities of the State in the realm of Vārttā or in the economic field for the purpose of filling its coffers. Even the most casual reader of Kautīlya's work cannot fail to be struck by the fact that the economic legislation recommended in that work is sweepingly vast and wide. The government protruded its interfering hands into almost all spheres of the daily life of the people, social, economic, political and religious to a remarkable extent. The State controlled agricultural lands, forests, mines, undertook the performance of many industrial arts and regulated trade and commerce to a considerable extent. In fact, all these activities were primarily dictated by the policy, as laid down by political thinkers in ancient India, that taxes are to be levied from almost every resource of the people, or to use the sound maxim of the great Kautīlya himself, that "just as fruits are gathered from a garden, as often as they become

ripe, so revenue shall be collected as often as it becomes ripe." (Bk. V. Ch. II).

Broadly speaking one may lay down that revenue in the *Arthashastra* includes a land and water tax, taxes on the produce of mines, premiums of coins, various sorts of tolls and duties, fines and benevolences, road cesses, liquor duties and imposts on gambling. Land revenue has been in the past as it still is the mainstay of the royal income in India, and agriculture naturally received a very careful attention from the State. It was the duty of the Superintendent of Agriculture to collect agricultural produce and to cultivate the crown lands in proper seasons. Irrigation work was another important thing that received careful attention from the State. The policy of the government was to make cultivation independent of the rains. There were different superintendents in charge of cows, horses and elephants, and their duties were both of a civil and military character. The first official had also camels, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses and mules in his charge. It is interesting to mention in this connection that he who sold his cow from among the herds had to pay to the king one-fourth of its value (II. 24). Both forests and mines were state monopolies in Kautilya's system of administration. The duty of the superintendent of forests was very much analogous to a modern forest officer. He had to take measures not only for the preservation of forests, and collection of forest produce, but had also to start manufactories to prepare commodities from the latter (II. 2. 17). It was not only mining, but also commerce in minerals and mineral products that was state-monopoly in Kautilya's system of government. There was a complete centralisation with regard to commodities manufactured from mineral products. It was therefore a very large income that the State made from the mines, both land and ocean.

Though land revenue was the most important source of the income of the State, yet no mean quota was supplied by tolls and taxes on merchandise; and we find, in fact, a levy on almost every item of commerce. A very great attention was paid to trade and commerce by the Kautilyan State. A strict control was sought to be maintained over the different classes of artisans; the state encouraged the undertaking of new industries, had a

monopoly of quite a large number of industrial arts. The State sought to prevent profiteering, acceptance of high rates of interest, traffic in dangerous goods and also checked the correctness of weights and measures. There were very stringent rules as regards the taxes on sales (II. 21, 22). In order to facilitate collection, goods could not be disposed of in the place of manufacture, but had to be brought before the toll-houses. In the manifold duties of the superintendents of commerce, store-houses and ships we find a fair picture of the economic activities of the State.

The State had also a definite and determinate policy as regards labour. There were rules regarding the selling or mortgaging of slaves and the employment of free-labourers and the wages to be paid to them.

All these facts go to show clearly and unmistakably the vast and sweeping economic legislation of the State, the remarkably considerable extent to which it interfered in the economic life of the people, the great knowledge of the science of Vārttā that had necessarily to be possessed by princes, and all those associated with them in the work of administration and lastly the relationship that subsisted between the two sciences Vārttā and Arthasāstra, for as has been said more than once before, it was Vārttā that largely supplied the data that Arthasāstra accepted and worked upon.

IV. STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF VĀRTTĀ IN ANCIENT INDIA.

Occupations leading to the production of wealth were the special functions of the Vaiśyas, and Vārttā was therefore, in theory, at least, their special means of livelihood. This appears both from the express statement of the fact, as also from the mention of the different occupations comprised within Vārttā as the province of the Vaiśyas. From this one may come to conclude that Vārttā, as a branch of knowledge was also the exclusive property of those people alone, with which the other Varnas could have no concern. But, as a matter of fact, we shall find that there was no restriction imposed upon Vārttā, in ancient India, as a Vidyā. It could be acquired alike by all the twice-born classes, may even by the Śūdras also, whose means of livelihood, the

various *Śilpas*, came to be comprised, as we have seen, within the field of *Vārttā*, in the course of time. Thus all classes and all sorts of people sought after proficiency in the Economic science in ancient India.

Before we proceed to examine the subject, it will not be entirely out of place to see what classes of people did earn their living actually by following the group of occupations fundamentally making up *Vārttā*, for, though, in theory, the *Vaiśyas* remained the only people whose duties were to engage in all labour leading to the production of wealth, in practice the other classes did not strictly continue themselves to their own allotted functions and often crossed the line of demarcation between legitimate and objectionable labour, as is clearly seen from the evidence of the ancient Sanskrit works. Almost the entire body of the legal literature of the *Hindūs* allows, in times of distress, the other castes to earn their living by following the professions of the *Vaiśyas* and enacts that when circumstances permit they are to return to their own occupations. That they were not loath to follow the professions of the *Vaiśyas*, nay even those of the *Śūdras* even under normal circumstances is evidenced by the frequent and violent denunciations of those that did so to be found in the *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas* and epics. These works also describe the *Āpaddharmas* (duties in distress) of the various castes. Many apparent anomalies and inconsistencies, are, however, to be found in them. Thus it is variously stated that the higher castes can follow the professions of the lower castes but not vice versa which is contradicted when we find it stated that under circumstances of distress the *Śūdras* can follow the professions of the *Vaiśyas*. Again, sometimes it is said that a caste should follow in distress the profession of that immediately next to itself in the course of precedence and that under no circumstances should a *Brāhmaṇa* follow the functions of a *Śūdra*, a statement which can hardly be reconciled with the one mentioned before.

Gautama lays down that a *Brāhmaṇa*, who is unable to gain his livelihood by his own profession, may live by the occupations of a *Kṣatriya* and on failure of those again by the

occupations of a Vaiśya.¹ Similar injunctions are also to be found in the various Smṛtis and Purāṇas, and they all lay down elaborate rules for the guidance of the higher castes under such circumstances. The Brāhmaṇas and Ksatriyas were allowed in hard times to follow the professions of the Vaiśyas with certain reservations. Thus a Brāhmaṇa when living by commerce was forbidden to deal in certain commodities which were taken to be derogatory to him. There is a practical unanimity among the different Smṛtis regarding this point and they all contain practically the same list of forbidden articles for a Brāhmaṇa to trade in. Thus a Brāhmaṇa was forbidden to sell pungents, sesamum, cooked rice, stones, salt, animals, slaves; cloths dyed red, hempen, woolen, silken stuffs; medicinal herbs, fruits and roots; water, weapons, poison, flesh, Soma juice, perfumes, wax, milk and its various preparations, as for instance clarified butter and curds, oil, honey molasses and *Kuśa* grass; animals with tusks and uncloven hooves, birds, liquor, indigo and lac.²

The liberal Gautama stands alone among the ancient writers whose number is legion, in his view that agriculture, trade, and likewise usury also, is lawful for a Brāhmaṇa, provided he does not do the work himself (X. 5. 6).³ Regarding the significance of this point it has been aptly remarked by George Bühler, the translator of Gautama's work that "these rules allowed Brāhmaṇas to be gentlemen farmers and sleeping partners in mercantile and banking farms, managed by Vaiśyas, and that they are in perfect agreement with the practice followed at present in many parts of India, and the praise bestowed in Vedic works on those who present land to Brāhmaṇas as well as the numerous ancient land grants show that from early times many Brāhmaṇas were holders of land, which as a rule, was cultivated by Śūdras."⁴

1 VII. 6-7.

2 *Manu* X. 85-89; *Yājñavalkya* III. 36-40; *Gautama* VII. 8-15; *Baudhāyana* II. 2. 26-29; *Vasīṣṭha* II. 22-31; *Āpastamba* I. 20; *Nārada* I. 56-67; *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 75. 38; *Mbh.* V. 37, 5., XII. 78. 10-13. I. ff; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* VII. II. 16-7.

3 For a contrary view where agriculture etc. are forbidden to Brāhmaṇas see *Manu* X. 83-84; *Mubh.* XII. 63. 1-3; 228, 74-5; *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* XI. 23. 6

4 S. B. E. Vol. II. p. 225 f. n.

The means of livelihood (*Jivana-hetavaḥ*) that a Brāhmaṇa could follow in distress have been declared to be ten in number. These were the Vidyās other than the Vedas, namely, mechanical arts, wages, service, dairyfarming, merchandise, self-satisfaction or patience (?), begging, and usury.¹ It will be seen also that in the list not only the four professions of the Vaiśyas but even those of the Śūdras are included, thus showing that the higher classes also followed the group of occupations denoted by the term *vārttā* in time of failure of their legitimate living. That they did so even in normal times is sufficiently indicated by the evidence of the existence of a large number of fallen Brāhmaṇas in early times who could not be invited to sacrifices or feasts. If we examine the list of such Brāhmaṇas we shall find that in spite of all injunctions to the contrary the Brāhmaṇas turned their attention to occupations leading to the acquisition of wealth and did not exclusively occupy themselves with study, sacrifices and austerities. Manu (III. 151 ff) has a long list of such fallen Brāhmaṇas among whom we find the merchants (*vīpaṇena jīvantaḥ*), usurer (*vārdhūsi*), herdsman (*paśupāla*), bards and actors (*kuśilava*), various sorts of craftsmen and masons such as the builders of houses and bridges, planters of trees (*vrkṣūropaka*) and cultivator (*kṛṣijīvi*). The Mahābhārata (XIII. 126. 24) also has a similar list where we find the Brāhmaṇas living by the occupations of a cowherd (*gorakṣaka*), merchants (*vaṇik*), artisan and actor (*kūrukuśilava*).

So also in Atri-saṁhitā (Ch. 364) in an enumeration of ten sorts of *vīpras* we find the Vaiśya-Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra-Brāhmaṇa mentioned. From what follows no doubt is left that they were Brāhmaṇas who lived by following the professions of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. It was thus not simply under abnormal circumstances but even in normal times also, that the higher classes including even the Brāhmaṇas followed the means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas and Śūdras. They might have been held degraded, but we are not concerned with that. What is of more importance to us is the fact that though theoretically a province of the Vaiśyas, *Vārttā* was followed as a means of livelihood by the other classes also.

¹ Manu X. 116; Yājñavalkya III. 42. where a somewhat different list is given.

Now let us see what the ancient Sanskrit works say about the functions of the Śūdras. Here also we find a wide divergence of views. Thus according to one class of writers the function of the Śūdras is nothing but service to the twice-born for which his creator intended him,—so characteristically said by Manu, "The Śūdra whether bought or unbought, should be made to act as a slave, for he was made by the Self-Existent for the service of the Brāhmaṇas.

Even if freed by his master the Śūdra is not released from servitude, for that is innate in him; who then can take it away from him?"¹

Some, however, allowed them to earn their living by following the various mechanical arts in addition to service to the *dvijas*; among these writers we find the liberal Gautama, whose Dharmasūtra has been accepted as the earliest extant legal treatise.²

According to others again they could follow these latter only when unable to gain their living by serving the twice-born classes.³ Sometimes a distinction is drawn up between duty (*dharma*) and means of livelihood (*vr̥tti*), and it is said that service belongs to the former category, while the arts and crafts to the latter. Thus it is said by Kāmandaka, "The duty of a Śūdra is to serve the twice born; his means of livelihood are all the arts and crafts."⁴

1 Manu VIII. 413-4, 1. 91, XI. 236; Vasiṣṭha II. 20; Baudhāyana 1. 18. 5-6; Āpastamba 1. 1. 6-7; Gītā XVIII. 44; Rāmāyaṇa 1. 6. 19. Mbh. XII. 296. 21; Bhāgavata-Purāṇa VII. 11. 14-15.

2 X. 56-7, 60. It is commonly recognised that the different Smṛtis represent the customs and ideas prevailing in different parts of the country and at different times to which are due many of the apparent anomalies and contradictions that are to be found in them. But from the data at our command it is not yet possible to trace the evolution of the classes and that of their occupations in their complete historical sequence.

3 Manu X. 99.

4 Kāmandakīya-Nitisūtra 11. 21; — वृत्तयः शूद्रस्य सर्वशिल्पानि धर्मः शूद्रस्य द्विजानि-
सुश्रूषा ॥
Viṣṇu-Saṃhitā II., Garuḍa-Purāṇa Ch. 49; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa 28. 7; Kūrma-Purāṇa II. 40.

We have already seen how the occupations of the Śūdras, the various crafts, were incorporated within Vārttā, and to that extent the Śūdras may be said to have been partakers of Vārttā. Nor were the other factors of Vārttā, those that belonged to the Vaiśyas, destined to remain long out of their reach. Though some texts forbid the lower castes to follow the professions of castes higher in the ladder of social precedence, the Śūdras came to follow the occupations properly pertaining to the Vaiśyas both in normal and abnormal circumstances. Thus while Yājñavalkya (I. 120) and the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (III. 8. 32) allowed them to carry on their livelihood by following trade only upon their failure to live by serving the upper classes and by practising the mechanical arts, Kauṭilya made Vārttā their normal occupation along with *Kārukuṣīlava karma* or arts and professions of bards and actors. This is sufficient evidence that the line of demarcation between the occupations of the Vaiśyas and those of the lower castes was neither rigid nor very accurately determined.

The evidence of the Pāli Buddhist Literature also leads us to a similar conclusion about the mobility of castes in ancient times. It has been shown by a noted scholar who made the Jātaka literature his special object of study that in the Buddhist age the Brāhmaṇas practised civil professions, that the Kṣatriyas were not the warrior caste but the ruling class, that the caste Vessa is without a real meaning and that a Sudda caste has never existed.¹ In fact, the Jātaka stories are thoroughly replete with references to Brāhmaṇa agriculturists, tradesmen, hunters, and carpenters.

Thus the conclusion is reached that the other classes could and did gain their living by following the occupations leading to the production of wealth and comprised within Vārttā, though theoretically a special function of the Vaiśyas.

But there was no imposition, even in theory, against the study of Vārttā as a Vidyā by the other classes of people besides the Vaiśyas. On the contrary, we find, express injunctions laying down that Vārttā is to be studied by different classes of people

1 Fick's *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time*, (translated into English by Dr. S. K. Mitra) pp. 97, 222, 252, 314,

and in different walks of life. The Brāhmanas were equally eligible with the Ksatriyas to the study of that science. Nay, even the Śūdras, whose means of livelihood, we have, on Kauṭilya's testimony, seen to comprise Vārttā, were not excluded from the study of the science. The truly liberal Indian spirit held that there could not be any possible limit to the extent of human knowledge, a view which is remarkably borne out by the fact that all classes of people were eligible for all the branches of knowledge. Thus while the Brāhmanas sought after the knowledge that properly belonged to the Śūdras they were not at all unwilling to impart to the latter their own lore. Not to speak of the Samhitā Age when women could themselves be Ṛsis and actually composed hymns and performed sacrifices like men, in the later Vedic period we find that the Śūdras and women could learn at least such of the hymns of the Vedas, as had to be recited by them in times of sacrifice.¹ And even later when the caste system was fully developed in the country leading to a wide gulf of separation between male and female, and restricted the rights of the women, the Śūdras and women were not totally cut off from all access to the sacred lore, for special works embodying the ideas of the Vedas and Upanisads and other sacred works were composed for them. The Purānas occupy the foremost place in this type of literature.

Thus people belonging to different castes and various walks of life sought after knowledge pertaining to the science of Vārttā. Possession of such a knowledge was absolutely requisite in kings and princes and their officials variously connected with the actual work of administration, or, as it has been characteristically described by the Arthaśāstra, with the acquisition, preservation, and development of the land. Arthaśāstra, as we have come to know by this time, was a type of literature that was intended to furnish such a knowledge, and was used as a manual by princes and others. The king had therefore to study Vārttā.

We are fortunate enough to possess in the Rāmāyana (II. 100) and in the Mahābhārata (II. V.) two chapters in which in sets of queries put by Rāma to Bharata and by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira the whole system of regal duties is fully explained. In these

¹ *Āśv. Grh.* III. 4. 4.

queries we find many sound economic principles, the truth of which is yet applicable to the modern conditions of life in spite of the lapse of ages and the changes wrought by time. In this exposition of the kingly duties, we find the vast extent of knowledge, both theoretical and practical, in the realm of the economic science, possession of which by the king was necessarily required for the proper administration and welfare of his people.

We shall illustrate the point by a few concrete references. Thus we find Rāma asking Bharata whether he enjoyed the different objects of life equally and thought on the means of acquiring *artha* in the small hours of the night, whether agriculturists and cowherds found favour with the king, in fact, whether all those persons living by *Vārttā* were prospering in his kingdom, for it was the duty of the king to look after their interests and welfare, whether his herds of cattle were prospering, whether his incomings were great and outgoings slender.

Similarly in the Mahābhārata, we find Nārada asking Yudhishthira whether he pondered over *artha* along with Dharma and listened to the advices of old men proficient in the science of of Artha, whether he was attentive to the improvement of cultivation by tanks and agricultural loans, whether large tanks were dug in the kingdom so that agriculture had not entirely to depend upon rain, whether the king advanced agriculturists a loan of seed grain, taking only a fourth part of every hundred in return, whether the merchants were well treated in the realm and could engage in their occupation without any fear of molestation, and officers of the State collected from them only such dues as were justly to be paid by them, whether the king extended his protection to the artisans and regularly paid them their wages, whether the royal expenses were met by a half, third or fourth part of the income and whether the different items of *Vārttā* were carried in the kingdom by really honest men, as upon them depend the happiness of the subjects.

These two chapters are unique records of the ideas and activities of the ancient Indians in the field of material interests and practical life. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that they contain between them the essence of the whole science of Artha-

śāstra or the science that deals with the means of acquisition and preservation of the earth.

The Brāhmaṇas could and did also study Vārttā. They were eligible to the study of all branches of knowledge, including even those that properly belonged to the Śūdras and women and others pertaining to the realm of Arthaśāstra. But this they could do only after they had studied the scriptures and not before.¹

It is beyond the scope of the present work to enter into any detailed account of the system of education as it existed in different periods in ancient India. But still it would not be entirely out of place to give a brief sketch of the curriculum of study, as it was, for the three upper classes of society, from the pages of the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya. The course was naturally divided into two parts, viz., (1) the primary and the (ii) higher. The former commenced immediately after the ceremony of tonsure was over and consisted naturally of "the three Rs", reading, writing Arithmetic.² The primary course had to be finished before the initiation ceremony after which commenced the secondary or higher one. It consisted essentially of the four fundamental branches of learning, viz., the Trayī, Ānvikṣikī, Vārttā and Dandanīti.³ For the members of the warrior caste other branches of knowledge were necessarily added to the list, which served their special functions. Thus the young prince had to receive lessons in sciences (*vidyā*) pertaining to elephants, horses, chariots and weapons.⁴ He had also to listen to Itihāsa which with Kautilya comprised Purāṇa, Itivṛtta (History), Akhyāyikā (tales), Udāharana (illustrative stories), Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra.⁵

1 Āpastamba II. 11. 29, 11-12; Manu II. 168.

2 वृत्तचौलकर्मो लिपिं संग्रह्यन् चोपयुञ्जीत—Bk. I. ch. V.

3 वृत्तोपनयनस्त्रयीमान्नीलिकीं च शिल्पिन्यो वार्तामध्यक्षेभ्यो दण्डनीतिं वक्त्रप्रयोक्तृभ्यः—Ibid.

4 हस्त्यश्वरथप्रहरणविद्यासु विनयं गच्छेत्—Ibid.

5 P. Kautilya's treatment of Itihāsa is rather unique and stands by itself in the whole field of Sanskrit literature. The other writers use the terms Itihāsa, Purāṇa and Akhyāyikā much in the same sense. It will be seen that Purāṇa, Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra are three of the 14 or 18 vidyās and the first two belonged to the general category of branches of knowledge, while the Arthaśāstra though primarily the province of princes was studied by Brāhmaṇas also.

It depended upon the student to make his selection of studies. He could choose one, many or all of these subjects according to his capacity and taste. It is often said, in different Sanskrit and Pali works and also in inscriptions of holy sages and royal princes that they were proficient in all branches of learning. It is often the more important of the sacred books such as the Vedas and their six āṅgas, Dharmaśāstras or Purāṇas that find mention in the case of the Brāhmanas, just as with the Kṣatriyas, Dhanurveda (archery), Nītiśāstra, Arthaśāstra and knowledge pertaining to horses and elephants are primarily mentioned. But it was no unusual thing in ancient times for a student, Brāhmana or Kṣatriya, to study various Śāstras or Vidyās to make his education complete and all-round. The Jātaka books are replete with the stories of Brāhmana and Kṣatriya youths going to famous learned teachers to study *sabba sippāni* or *aṭṭhārasa vijjāḥhāmanī*. Regarding the significance of the evidence of the Jātaka literature it was aptly said by Dr. Fick, " the three Vedas were manifestly not the sole subject which the Brāhmanas were taught during their student days ; in several places " all the sciences " are mentioned as what the Brāhmana has to learn, and by this are to be understood, over and above the three Vedas, eighteen branches of science ... (which) coincide approximately with the eighteen divisions which are mentioned in the Brahmanical systems.¹

That the Brāhmanas studied also profane literature and the science of economics will be clearly borne out by the following testimony of Manu who lays down that a Brāhmana should daily study the Śāstras, such as the Vedas, the Nigamas and other beneficial ones (धन्यानि च हितानि) that lead to an increase of intellect.²

Though the Brāhmanas could study the science of Vārttā, they could not legitimately follow the occupations leading to the

1 Fick "Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's time, p. 131.

2 बुद्धिबृद्धिरन्याशु धन्यानि च हितानि च ।

नित्यं शास्त्राण्यवेक्षेत निगमांश्च वैदिकान् ॥ — IV, 19.

The word धन्यानि has been taken by commentators in the sense of धनार्थ हितानि or beneficial for wealth, who give Arthaśāstra as a concrete instance of such a Śāstra.

production of wealth. So we must come to hold that it was just for the sake of knowledge that they studied the science or what is tantamount to the same thing, to make their education complete and all-round. Dr. Narendra Nath Law assigns another reason to the Brahmanical study of Vārttā. According to him the Brāhmaṇas learnt the subject sometimes perhaps for the sake of teaching it to their pupils;—"for the Brāhmaṇas were the teachers not merely of Theology and Philosophy, but also of Economics, Polity including even the art of welfare, and use of weapons, also practical and fine arts and accomplishments." Be that as it may, this much is certain that there was no restraint to a Brāhmaṇa's acquiring knowledge of the science of Vārttā though there were grave objections to his earning his livelihood by following any of the occupations denoted by the term.

Possession of the knowledge of the science of Vārttā was supremely necessary to the Ksatriyas, because of its importance for the actual work of administration of the country or to use the language of the Arthaśāstra, the acquisition and maintenance of the earth (पृथिव्या लाभपालनोपाय). The Arthaśāstra itself was a type of literature meant especially for the Ksatriyas.

Vārttā has been expressly included within the curriculum of study prescribed for princes. Thus it has been said:—

त्रैविद्येभ्यस्त्रयीं विद्यां दण्डनीतिं च शाश्वतीम् ।

आन्वीक्षिकीं चात्मविद्यां वार्त्तारम्भांश्च लोकतः ॥

(The king should learn) the *Trayī-Vidyā* from people who are proficient in the three Vedas, the eternal *Danḍanīti*, *Ānvīkṣikī* which is the knowledge of self, and the methods of *Vārttā* from people who are expert in them.²

In the *Rāmāyana* also we find reference to the same fact. We have said that in a chapter in the work by a set of queries put by Rāma to Bharata the whole subject of kingly duties and functions have been cleverly analysed. Among those questions we find Rāma asking of Bharata whether he studied the three *Vidyās*, (तिस्रः विद्याः) where, as is apparent, *Ānvīkṣikī* has been dropped from list as not of so much importance to princes.³

1 Above, 1918, p. 240.

2 *Manu* VII. 43. The same verses also exist in *Matsya-Purāṇa* 215. 53; *Agni-Purāṇa* 225. 21-2. See also *Gautama-Dharmasūtra* XX. 3.

3 *Rāmāyana* II. 100. 68.

We have already dealt with Kautilya's system of education and have seen there that he prescribed Vārttā as a subject of study to be learnt from the superintendents of the various government departments both theoretically and practically. His political disciple Kāmandaka also wrote to the same purport, thus—"The king possessed of discipline (vinaya) should get instructed in Ānvīksikī, the Trayī, Vārttā and Dandanīti from persons who are proficient in them and act according to knowledge.¹ Similarly Yājñavalkya has also laid down that the king should be skilled in the knowledge of those four sciences. The same is also said by the author or authors of the Śukranīti, and by the writer of the Nārada-Smṛti.²

The four primary sciences were thus comprised within the curriculum of study for princes in ancient times. This is amply attested by the passages that have been quoted above. In fact, the idea that princes had to acquire knowledge of these sciences became a tradition with the people, and the four sciences came to be known as the *Kulavidyās* of princes or branches of learning pertaining to the royal family. In his Raghuvamśa, Kālidāsa has made a king to wed his sons first to the *Kulavidyās*, which the commentator explains as Ānvīksikī, Trayī, Vārttā and Dandanīti, and then to royal princesses.³

Arthaśāstra was a type of literature that properly belonged to the Ksatriyas, in fact, to all whose providence it was to be connected with the work of the administration of the realm. And we have said that Vārttā largely supplied the data that Arthaśāstra accepted and worked upon. So any reference to the study of Arthavidyā or of Arthaśāstra by kings, princes, generals and officials may be reasonably taken as evidence for the study of the economic science by those personages. It was never intended that the king should seek after proficiency in the whole economic science in all its aspects, but knowledge of only the most important of its subdivisions that had any form of bearing upon his manifold duties and functions was necessarily required

1 Kāmandaka II. I.

2 Yājñ. I. 310-1; Śukranīti I, 303-4.

Rāmāyaṇa II. 100; Mabh. II. 5.

3 Raghū XVII. 3.

to be acquired by him. The best evidence of such a regal knowledge may be found in two chapters of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which we have referred to more than once before.¹

Indian literature is thoroughly saturated with passages that harp upon the necessity of the king's possessing knowledge of the *Arthaśāstra*. Often it is only the most important of its topics that find mention. Knowledge of horses and elephants and of weapons was of supreme importance to princes, and some times only these topics of *Arthaśāstra* are referred to.

In a passage of the *Mahābhārata* we find Arjuna, who has been characteristically called expert in *Arthaśāstra*, dilating upon the nature and virtues of *Vārtā*.² The *Matsya Purāṇa* also says that the king should have his prince instructed by learned teachers in *Dharmasāstra*, *Kāmsāstra*, *Arthaśāstra*, *Dhanurveda*, also in knowledge of chariots and elephants. He should regularly take physical exercises and learn the *Śilpas*.³ An echo of the same idea is to be found in the *Millindaggaññiha* where it is said that "the business of the princes of the earth is to learn all about elephants and horses and chariots and rapiers and the documents and the law of property."⁴ We may also mention here the knowledge of the economic science said to have been possessed by Rāma. Thus it is repeatedly mentioned throughout the *Rāmāyaṇa* that he enjoyed the different aspects of life equally, was expert in everything relating to *artha*, knew the proper times and means of collecting wealth and of spending it according to the injunctions of the *Śāstras*. He had systematically read public law and was expert in the different *Śilpas*. He knew also how to enable others to acquire wealth.⁵

In the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* we find mention of the following *Vidyās* as the subjects studied by the youthful Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma,—the *Vedas*, with their *Angas*, *Upaniṣads*, *Dhanurveda*, *Dharmasāstra*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Ānvīksikī*, *Rājaniṭi* and the sixty four *Kalās*.⁶

1 *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 100; *Mbh.* II. V.

2 *Mbh.* XII. 167-110.

3 Ch. 220. 2-3; 24, 2-3.

4 S. B. E. Vol. XXXV. p. 247.

5 *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 1. 28 ff.

6 X. 45. 25-7.

The Śūdras also could study the science of economics. We have already shown how the various Śilpas, the means of livelihood of the Śūdras, came to be comprised within Vārttā. The Kalās had also an economic aspect and were very aptly comprised within Arthaśāstra. And we have also seen on Kautilya's authority that the Śūdras also could follow the group of occupations denoted by the term Vārttā. Thus they were also eligible for the knowledge about Vārttā. Their knowledge was chiefly of a practical character as was required by their occupations, namely, the various Śilpas and Kalās, that is, technical and formative, practical, mechanical and fine arts in which there is more of practice than of theory.

Thus one comes to the conclusion that there was no restriction imposed upon the study of Vārttā, different subdivisions of which science were acquired by different castes of people and men placed in various stations in life, from the holy sages and high sovereigns down to poor Śūdras for different purposes; though, however, the group of occupations denoted by the term was the special means of livelihood of the Vaiśyas, which could not be legitimately followed by other castes.

We shall next deal with the subject of teachers of Vārttā. Much of the subject has been anticipated in the preceding discussion about the subject of the students of Vārttā. As there was no legal or moral imposition against the study of the economic science and all castes of people could and did study it, so also people belonging to different castes could impart lessons to students in the science. As Vārttā was the special branch of knowledge of the Vaiśyas and the most important of the professions leading to the production of wealth were their special means of livelihood, it appears that they were the best teachers of the science especially as regards knowledge relating to the most important of its subdivisions, namely, agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade.

But Brāhmanas could also be teachers of the economic science. According to some scholars that was one of the reasons which led them to study Vārttā, for they could not legitimately follow the group of occupations denoted by the term. Dr. Narendra

Nath Law suggested that the Brāhmanas learnt the subjects "Sometimes perhaps for the sake of teaching it to their pupils,—for the Brāhmanas were the teachers not merely of theology and Philosophy, but also of economics, Polity including even the art of warfare and use of weapons, also practical and fine arts and accomplishments."¹

It is somewhat difficult to follow him. Some Brāhmanas were no doubt instructors of Dhanurveda to royal princes, as readers of the Mhābhārata are probably aware of the fact. As ministers and councillors of the king they had to acquire proficiency in the political science, and sometimes they instructed their royal wards in that science; we have also seen that the Brāhmanas sometimes acquired knowledge of the Kalās also. There were also learned Brāhmana teachers to whom students flocked from the different parts of the country to study the eighteen Vidyās, including of course Arthasāstra, as we have seen from the Jātaka literature. Thus there can be no doubt that there were Brāhmana teachers of the economic science, or at least some of its subdivisions as were comprised within Arthasāstra. But where is the evidence to show that they also taught the subjects that fundamentally made up the science of Vārttā, namely, agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade? On the contrary all facts point to a different conclusion, that even the Brāhmanas had to study these branches of knowledge under the people who were well-versed in them and these could have been no other than the Vaiśyas whose means of livelihood those occupations were. Both Kautilya and Manu, as we shall see presently, lay particular stress upon this fact and enjoin that Vārttā is to be studied under people who have practical knowledge of it. It must never be supposed that we are suggesting that Brāhmanas were not teachers of Vārttā; on the other hand, as we have shown, there is distinct evidence that they taught to their pupils Polity, Archery and some other sub-divisions of Arthasāstra. But to state it in the form as Dr. Law has done or as has been done by another writer, according to whom "the Brāhmanas were the

1 *J. A.*, 1918, p. 240.

usual teachers of Vārttā,¹ would be taking an extreme view of the case for which there is no corroborative evidence. But while the former view may be probable the latter is totally unwarranted by facts.

The Śūdras, whose occupations were the various Śilpas and Kalās and some of the branches of Vārttā, could also be teachers of the economic science to whom students belonging to the superior castes, including the highest of them went for training. Even the orthodox Manu had no objection to it and expressly laid down that the Vidyās and the various Śilpas were to be acquired from all hands.²

1 M. A. Buch—*Economic Life in Ancient India*, p. 18.

2 *Manu* II, 238-41 ; See also Śl. 117.

SANSKRIT LITERATURE OF THE VAIṢṆAVAS OF BENGAL

BY

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M. A.

Vaiṣṇavism,—the worship of Kṛṣṇa Viṣṇu -- it cannot be denied, has a long history behind it in Bengal. Excavations, in Paharpur, Rajasahi, are reported to have brought to light images of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa, of the Gupta period testifying to the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in some form even in such an early date. The Susunia Rock inscription¹ also points to the same conclusion. We meet with traces of Vaiṣṇavism in the epigraphic records of the Pāla period as well. It seems to have been almost in a flourishing condition during the Sena rule, as is shown, among other things, by the celebrated work of Jayadeva—the Gitagovinda.²

This Vaiṣṇavism got a fresh impetus and took a new turn from after the rise of Caitanya in the 15th century, so much so that Vaiṣṇavism is now popularly believed to be nothing but what was preached by that great master. The new shape given to Vaiṣṇavism by Caitanya which may as well conveniently be termed Caitanyism—had a good many important characteristics. It is not the place to deal with them at any length here. What

1 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, p. 133.

2 It may be noted in passing that this production of a Bengali poet is one of the most popular works in the whole field of Sanskrit literature. An idea of the enviable popularity enjoyed by it may be formed not only from the unusually large number of Mss. found of the work all over the country, but also from the numerous commentaries of the work—more than forty mentioned by Aufrecht in the *Catalogus Catalogorum*—composed by scholars hailing from different parts of India. It had even acquired the sanctity of a religious work by the end of the 15th century (S. K. Chatterji—*Origin and Development of Beng. Lang.* p. 216.). In consequence of its widespread popularity works came to be composed by poets of different parts of India in imitation of this. And about a dozen of these works are known.

we require for our purposes to note is its proselytising spirit which found expression, among other things, in the immense literary activities of the followers of the great Vaiṣṇava reformer. A vast amount of literature both in Bengali and Sanskrit was produced evidently with a view to popularise the teachings of Caitanya and thus strengthen the new sect with fresh converts. Quite an important place is occupied by the literature of the Vaiṣṇavas in the history of Bengali literature as a whole, and it has already attracted the proper attention of scholars. But the study of the Sanskrit literature of the Vaiṣṇavas does not seem to have spread to any appreciable extent beyond the members of the sect. And scholars outside Bengal seem to have very little idea of the vast extent or the nature of this literature, partly owing to its sectarian character and partly on account of most of the works, in Mss. or print, being in the Bengali script.

The importance of this extensive literature, however, in the history of Indian literature as a whole cannot, of course, be denied. For even here we occasionally meet with works that decidedly have a universal appeal and deserve to be carefully and critically studied by scholars. Looked at from the standpoint of cultural history, it represents a line of development which, whatever be its merit, should not be left out of account. And as it embodies the dogmas and rituals of a sect which had and still has an immense hold on not a negligible section of the people of Bengal a thorough study of it is expected to throw much lurid light on the obscure and chequered religious history of Bengal. And it seems to be owing to these facts that Mm. H. P. Shastri felt in the nineties the want of a systematic account of the vast Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal (*Notices of Sanskrit Mss* - Vol. XI, Preface p. xi).

This literature, sectarian though it was, did not consist solely of purely religious works dealing merely with philosophy and ritualism. We have got works almost in every branch of Sanskrit literature,—Kāvya, drama, grammar and even Poetics written by the followers of Caitanya and all bearing the marks of the new faith. And this fact justifies a separate treatment of those works. It is also an interesting study to see how they could utilise all these heterogenous branches of study for convey-

ing the teachings of their master to the masses. This literature is thus found to possess a peculiar 'communal' interest too, as it seems to indicate a desire on the part of the Vaiṣṇava teachers to be self-contained from a literary stand-point by creating an independent literature for themselves, in the various branches, which preserved the peculiarities of the faith so that Vaiṣṇava children might imbibe the spirit of the faith from their very student life.

It is now proposed to give a brief account of the literary output of the followers of Caitanya in the different branches of Sanskrit literature. The Vaiṣṇava literature of Bengal of the Pre-Caitanya period is small and has very little distinguishing feature.

It will be noticed that this vast amount of literature covering a variety of subjects was principally the work of about half a dozen scholars. Decidedly the major portion of it belongs to the two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana who were the immediate disciples of Caitanya and their worthy nephew Jīva. It was primarily they that fixed the rituals and philosophy—the two most important things of a religious system—of Caitanyaism. They were all polymaths, having quite a huge number of works to the credit of each. The position occupied by them in the Vaiṣṇava hierarchy is highly honourable. All subsequent writers are found to accord even as much respect to them as to the great founder of the sect. Of other important writers we may refer to the names of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Kavikarnapūra and Viśvanātha Cakravartī. The founder of the school—Caitanya—does not seem to have composed any work expounding his doctrines. Two works of his—which would have been of immense value had they survived—viz. a commentary on the *Bhāgavata* and a commentary on some work on Nyāya—are believed to have been either destroyed or concealed by the Great Master so that the fame of others may not suffer by their publication (*Mūnasī O Marmavāṇī* Vol. XIX Pt. II, p. 54 ff). There is room for legitimate doubt as regards the authorship of several minor works generally attributed to him.

A peculiarity of most of the Vaiṣṇava writers that may be

noted here, is their extreme modesty' which does not permit them to explicitly specify their names in many a work of their authorship. It seems to be on account of this that a good deal of controversy is found to have centred round the authorship of a number of works—specially those of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva. Several instances of this kind of confusion have already been noted by Dr. S. K. De in his *Studies in the Hist. of Sans. Poetics* (vol. I, p. 255. f. n. 3.) We may here point out some more instances. *Haṃsādūta*, generally known to be a work of Rūpa is found to have been attributed to Jīva (CS. vol. VI, No. 162) and also to one Devadāsa in a Ms. of the work and a commentary on it in the Dacca University (which I had occasion to see). The *Vaiṣṇavatoṣiṇī*, a commentary on the tenth Book of the *Bhāgavata*, believed to be a work of Sanātana, is also ascribed to Jīva and Rūpa (Aufrecht I, p. 4026, II, p. 917). The *Hari-nāmāmṛta-Vyākaraṇa*, supposed to be a work of Jīva is attributed to Rūpa (*Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the A. S. B.*—Gram. R. L. Mitra—p. 70). But the names of the real authors may be gathered from an elaborate account of the literary activities of Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva given by Jīva himself at the end of his *Laghutoṣiṇī*—a commentary on the *Vaiṣṇava-toṣiṇī*.

Every religion is found to have a philosophical system of its own, on the basis of which the doctrines and tenets peculiar to it are sought to be explained. And Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal was not an exception to this rule. It also evolved a full-fledged philosophy of its own which, in course of time, came to be known as the Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava philosophy. This is properly a sub-school of Vedānta, based primarily on the Madhva system, though it was influenced by the Nimbārka and Vallabha schools as well. But it has its points of difference from the school of Madhva. Thus, according to the latter, the object of adoration is Viṣṇu alone, no divinity being ascribed to his consort Lakṣmī. But according to the Gauḍīya school, Viṣṇu together with his consort should be worshipped. Devotion in conjunction with

1 A curious instance of this is supplied by the following colophon found at the end of an anthological work, the *Kaviratnākara* (S. S. P):—
इति श्रीपरमहंस-परिब्रजकाचार्य-श्रीमद्-वृन्दाधनगलितपत्रभोगि-विद्याकृदिदासविरचितः कविता-
रत्नाकरः समाप्तः ।

action, assert the Madhvas, lead to salvation. Devotion, pure and unmixed, is the cause of salvation - this is the view of the followers of Caitanya. According to the school of Madhva, salvation can be attained by Brahman devotees alone, but the Gaudīya school is more liberal and asserts the equal right of all - irrespective of caste - to that supreme goal of life. The most distinguishing features of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are :- (1) the doctrine of *acintya-bhedābheda* (incomprehensible difference-non-difference) (2) Prominence given to the *Vṛndāvana-līlā* of Kṛṣṇa in contra-distinction to the attitude of the different Vaiṣṇava schools of the South.

The work which the followers of this school regard as the most important and authoritative is the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*. This Purāṇa, they suppose, was composed to elucidate the Vedānta Sūtras and is regarded by them as the commentary on the said Sūtras. Thus not a negligible portion of the philosophical works of this school is covered by direct commentaries on the *Bhāgavata* and also by independent works composed to elucidate and systematically present the views of it. Of direct commentaries on it, mention may be made of the works of Sanātana, Jīva, Viśvanātha and Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. Besides these, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana and *Laghu-Bhāgavatāmṛta* of Rūpa, which is an abridgement of the former, deal with the teachings of the *Bhāgavata*.

The most important, popular and scholarly work that sets forth in detail the philosophy of the *Bhāgavata* is the *Bhāgavata*° or *Ṣaṭ-Sandarbhā* of Jīva Gosvāmin (Ed. by Syamlal Gosvāmin, Calcutta). It consists of six books dealing with six different topics viz. *Tattva-Sandarbhā*, *Bhāgavata*°, *Paramātmā*°, *Śrīkṛṣṇa*°, *Bhakti*°, and *Prīti*°. The present work is stated to have been based on a work of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the famous disciple of Caitanya, which appears to have been fragmentary and incomplete. An abridgement of this voluminous work, presumably by Jīva himself, is the *Sārasaṅgraha* (CS. X. p. 96).

But works on the *Bhāgavata* alone could secure no recognition for the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas among those of other provinces; for a school was required to have commentaries of its own on the Vedānta-Sūtras, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and Upaniṣads to entitle itself

to that recognition. And, it is told, that it was to win that recognition for this school that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa composed a commentary on the Vedānta-Sūtras, called the *Govinda-bhāṣya* (Purāṇa Kāryālaya, Calcutta 1301 B. S.).¹ This embodies the doctrines peculiar to the school. Baladeva flourished sometime in the middle of the 18th century. Thus chronologically he was about the last among the host of scholars who from time to time wrote commentaries (bhāṣya) on that highly popular work—the Vedānta-Sūtras. But this was not the only work composed by Baladeva. Like Rūpa and Jīva he was a polymath, writing on a variety of subjects. Other philosophical works composed by him were :—

(1) Commentary on the Bhagavad-gītā (published by the Gaudīya Matha, Calcutta) (2) Commentary on the ten Upanisads—Īśa,² Kena, Kaṭha, Prasna, Muṇḍaka, Māṇḍūkya, Aitareya, Taittirīya, Chāndogya, and Brhadāranyaka (3) *Siddhāntaratna* or *Bhāṣya-pīṭhaka* - (Sarasvatī Bhavan Series) (4) *Prameya-ratnāvalī* (S. S. P. Series) an elementary treatise on the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Bengal. This work follows the school of Madhva in toto as is indicated by the author in the introductory portions of his work. (5) *Vedānta-Syamantaka* which seems to deal with the elements of Vedānta philosophy.

It was probably about the time of Baladeva that Anūpanārāyaṇa Śiromaṇi who was apparently a follower of the school of Caitanya, wrote a gloss entitled the *Samañjasū-ṛtti*² on the Vedānta-Sūtra. At the end of his work he dedicates it to Caitanya and refers to Rūpa and Svarūpa in respectful terms. But probably owing to the fact that he was not one of the recognised *gacvāmīns* (teachers) held in high respect by the Vaiṣṇavas that his work received scant appreciation and is now little known.

Similar fate seems to have attended several other works as well which appear to have been composed from time to time. Of these reference may be made to the *Tattvadīpikā* - a 'short' Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest by Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma,

1 Introduction to *Prameya-ratnāvalī* (S. S. P. Series).

2 A Ms. of this work is in the Library of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

the well-known Naiyāyika and teacher of Caitanya (Sarasvati Bhavan Studies vol. IV. p. 68).

The most important ritualistic work of the Vaiṣṇavas is the *Haribhakti-Vilāsa*¹ or *Bhagavad-bhakti-vilāsa* as it is sometimes called (Baharampur, Radharaman Press). The work seems to have been composed by Sanātana as is recorded at the end of the *Laghutoṣṇi* of Jīva as also in *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa (Bk. II, chapter 24). It is this work which still regulates the religious rites of the Vaiṣṇavas.² If any proof of its popularity was needed, it is supplied by an early metrical Bengali translation of the work by one Kānāi Dāsa, a Ms. of which work is reported to have recently been acquired by the Dacca University (*Ind. Ant.* 1928, p. 2). It is a very big work consisting of 20 *vilāsas* and is composed in verses, small prose lines occurring only as introduction to extracts quoted from other works. It lays down, among other things, rules for the different festivals to be observed by the Vaiṣṇavas in honour of Kṛṣṇa. It scarcely refers to any festival connected with any god beyond the pale of Vaiṣṇavism. It is curious that of all other popular festivals belonging almost exclusively to the Śaivas or Śāktas (like Durgāpūjā etc.) it is found to prescribe *Śivarātri*—a festival in honour of god Śiva—for the Vaiṣṇavas. This may be owing to the immense popularity of it which rendered it impossible to be neglected.

It should here be noted that the work does make no reference to *Satyānārāyaṇa* or offerings (*sīrṇi*) made to him. The omission does not seem to be accidental, but might in all probability have been a significant one pointing to the fact that this god—who is generally supposed to have been the result of an amalgamation of *Satyapīṭha* of the Moslems with *Nārāyaṇa* of the Hindus—had not yet found any important place in the Hindu pantheon. It does not also refer to the well-known festival of *rāsa-yātrā* in honour of Kṛṣṇa.³

1 It does not, however, cover all rites, as no section is devoted to *Saṁskāra* (sacraments) or *Srāddha* (funeral rites) though a section is set apart for *dīkṣā* or initiation.

2 The festival is not also found to have been referred to in the *yātrā-fatva* of Raghunandana.

Of minor works reference may be made to the *Sūrasaṃgraha-dīpikā* by Rāmaprasāda Devaśarmā (HPS III, 343). It deals with the worship of Kṛṣṇa pointing out its excellence. It is stated to have a section on Vaiṣṇava *Śrāddha*. Works like *Śrī-Rādhā Kṛṣṇa-Pūjāpaddhoti-nibandha* (CS X. 102), *Vaiṣṇavāhnikapaddhati* (CS X. 116), *Samkṣepa-Bhakti-Sādhana-paddhati* (CS. X. 114) though anonymous seems to have originated in Bengal being found only in Bengali characters. But they have got very little deserving a critical analysis.

The Vaiṣṇava Kāvya and dramas the number of which is almost a legion deal almost exclusively with the story of Kṛṣṇa and his associates, while there are a few which seek to depict the life story of Caitanya. Very few of them, it must be admitted, have got any poetic excellence in them which can attract the attention of non-Vaiṣṇavas. They were composed either to demonstrate the divinity of Kṛṣṇa or the superiority of Caitanya to the ordinary human beings, and though some of them aim at displaying artificial beauty, they have got very little intrinsic merit in general.

Ananda-vṛndāvacampū of Kavikarnapūra is a *campū*, or a *Āṇya* work in prose and poetry mixed, in 22 *stavakas* or chapters dealing with the life story of Kṛṣṇa (Pandit Baijnath Pustakalaya, Mathura). *Muktācaritra* of Raghunāthadāsa (Brindavana Caitanyābda 422) describes the amours of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Raghunāthadāsa was earlier than Jiva Gosvāmin, who mentions him in the first verse of his *Gopālacampū*. It is a *campū Kāvya* consisting both of prose and poetry. Govindallāmṛta of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja who is well-known as the author of the Bengali work *Caitanya-Carilāmṛta*, which was composed in 1503 S. E. (Baharampur, Radharaman Press, 1308 B. S.). The work is complete in 23 *sargas*. This seems to have been one of the most popular Vaiṣṇava *kāvya*. It was translated into Bengali verses by Yadunandana Dāsa as early as the year 1610 A. D. Numerous Mss., found in various places and noticed and described by various scholars, also testify to its popularity. But curiously enough there has been a confusion with regard to its authorship. It has been attributed either to Raghunātha Bhaṭṭa

or to Raghunātha Dāsa by various scholars though the name of the author is definitely given as Kṛṣṇadāsa in a verse of the work (XXIII, 95) and in the Bengali translation of it just referred to. And tradition current among the Vaiṣṇavas confirms this ascription.¹ *Gopālacampū* of Jīvagosvāmin is another work, depicting the life story of Kṛṣṇa (Ed. by Rasa-Bihari Samkhya-tirtha, Baharampur). It is a very big work complete in two parts—*pūrvacampū* in 33 *purāṇas* and *uttaracampū* in 37 *purāṇas*. The first part was completed in 1510 S. E. and the second in 1514 S. E. Viśvanātha Cakravartī whose commentary on the *Bhāgavata* was completed in 1626 S. E. composed the *Śrīkṛṣṇa-bhāvanāmṛta* in 20 cantos (Ed. by Nitya Svarūpa Brahmācārin-Caitanyābda 428). There is, besides these, a huge number of smaller and minor works, too numerous to mention here. The *Dūtakāvya*s not only of Bengal but of other places also were in no small degree influenced by Vaiṣṇavism and were principally the productions of Vaiṣṇava poets.²

There are several dramatic compositions of the Vaiṣṇavas. Of these three at least belong to Rūpa, namely, *Lalitāmādhava*, *Vidagdhamādhava* and *Lānakali-kaumudī*. They all describe the story of the life of Kṛṣṇa.

Historical *kāvya*s or *caritakāvya*s as they may more properly be designated deal almost exclusively with the life-story of Caitanya. Works of this type were produced in large numbers both in Sanskrit and Bengali. Some of them are highly popular even to this day. The most popular of them is the *Caitanyacaritāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja composed in 1503 S. E., which, though written in Bengali, is interspersed with Sanskrit verses either of the poet's own composition or taken from various works of other authors. The work had become so much popular that even these were gathered together exactly in the order in which they occur in the original and treated as a separate book under the title *Śloka-saṃgraha* or *Caitanya-caritāmṛta-śloka-saṃgraha*. Mss. of this latter work are met with occasionally. A manuscript of

1 This has been made clear in a note on the authorship of the *Govinda-līlāmṛta* *Ind. Ant.* (Nov. 1928).

2 See my article on the *Origin and Development of Dūtakāvya Literature in Sanskrit*. (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. III, pp. 273ff).

a commentary on these verses by one Vṛndāvanacandra Tarkānīkāra has also come down in a fragmentary form (CS. X, 41).

Of works written exclusively in Sanskrit almost all were written by men who were contemporaries of Caitanya. Thus a *Caitanyacarita* is said to have been composed by Gopīnātha Kavīkaṇṭhābharana, son-in-law of Viṣṇudāsa, maternal uncle of Caitanya.¹ Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, originally teacher and then a disciple of Caitanya is also stated to have composed a *Caitanya-Carita* (*Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat-Patrikā*, vol. IV, p. 201). *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya-Carita* was composed by Murāri Gupta in 1425 S. E., as is expressly stated in the concluding verse of the work (Published by Mrinal Kanti Ghosh from the Partika Press, Baghbazar-Caitanya era 426). This is one of the earliest available works on the life-story of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher of Bengal. The book is a fairly long one being complete in four sections, each of which consists of several cantos. The first section contains 14 cantos, the second 18, the third 18 and the fourth 26. From the very beginning we get a deified picture of the great master who is represented as an incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu and as such his birth was acclaimed by all the gods who came to Śacī, his mother, just after her conception to pay their homage to her as she was to be the exalted mother of the Lord. The book is full of the description of the supernatural powers of the Master and his unparalleled devotion to Viṣṇu. The work is written in the epic style not improbably to give it an epic appearance and earn for it the respect which is due to an epic. It has a good many instances of the *lapsus lingua* which is a characteristic feature of the epic literature of Sanskrit.

The *Caitanyacaritāmṛta Mahākāvya* is another work of this type (Baharampur-Radharaman-Press-1332 B. S.). The author of the work is believed to have been the well-known poet Kavīkarnāpūra though nowhere in book his name is found to occur. It was composed in 1464 S. E.

The sectarian character of even some of the more well-known grammars is clearly betrayed by the illustrations given by the different grammatical functions. Thus the Vaiṣṇavite *Mugdha-*

1 An extract from this work giving the ancestry of Caitanya is quoted in *Pañger Jātīya Itihāsa-N. Basu*—vol. III, p. 118ff.

bodha is always found to refer to Kṛṣṇa and his associates in all his examples. In the non-Brahmanic *Kalūpa* not a single reference to any of the mythological persons or stories is found. But the spirit of sectarianism seems to have been carried to its furthest extreme. And the best known example of this is the *Harināmāmṛta Vyākaraṇa*, a grammar of some popularity among the more orthodox Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal. It is generally attributed to Jivagosvāmin, nephew of the celebrated Rūpa. He completed his *Gopūla-Campū* in 1514 S. E. A manuscript in the Asiatic Society of Bengal is however found to ascribe it to Rūpa (*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. of the A. S. B.*,—Gram. R. L. Mitra. Gram-p. 70 and 163). The peculiarity of this work lies not only in its reference to the acts of Kṛṣṇa etc. in the illustrations of grammatical functions but also in indicating the various technical terms of grammar by the different names of Kṛṣṇa, Rādhā and their associates, the mere utterance of which is supposed to earn religious merit for the reader. Thus the climax is reached here in the attempt to popularise the religious tenets through various branches of literature.

We get mention of two other grammars of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal, namely *Caitanyāmṛta* (Colebrooke - *Miscellaneous Essays*, Ed. by Cowell—1873, vol. II, p. 44) and *Vyākaraṇa-kaumudī* of Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa. The former of these seems to have been a sectarian one as the name clearly shows. Sectarian grammars also seem to have been known even when Jiva wrote, as Viṭṭhalācārya (1st half of the 16th century) in his commentary on the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī* is said to have often referred to a *Īāma-Vyākaraṇa* (Colebrooke - *op. cit.*, p. 49), which from its name seems to have been sectarian. A sectarian grammar of the Śaivas probably by a Bengalee is the *Prabodha-prakāśa* (I. O. II, 911, R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 70). The author of this work is Balarāma Pañcānana. This work is also of the type of *Harināmāmṛta*.

It is curious that though Bengal had evolved a style of her own from a very early period her contributions to the theories of poetic composition cannot be said to be much. In fact, we scarcely meet with any works on poetics in Bengal before the

Rhetoric

15th century. From after the 15th century Bengal produced several original works on poetics. Most of these are the works of Vaiṣṇava teachers and are sectarian in character. They have not therefore attained much popularity among the people in general, and their studies are confined within the Vaiṣṇavas alone. Thus the works of Bengal could not supersede well-known standard works like the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of Mammata which continued to be studied here as elsewhere and this is proved by the commentaries by Bengalees on these works. But in spite of their sectarian character the rhetorical works of the Vaiṣṇavas of Bengal are found to have made important contributions on the topic of *rasa* (sentiment). They count *bhakti* (devotion) as a separate *rasa* and deal with it in full detail. The illustrative verses of these works, again, mostly deal with the life-story of Kṛṣṇa and his associates.

The earliest work of Bengal on poetics seems to have been the Vaiṣṇavite *Ujjvalanīlamani* (Kāvyamālā and Baharampur) of Rūpagosvāmin, an immediate disciple of Caitanya and a Vaiṣṇava writer of much renown. In his work Rūpa describes *Bhakti* (devotion) as a separate *rasa*. The work has got several commentaries of which those of his nephew Jiva (Baharampur 1889) and Viśvanātha Cakravartī (Kāvyamālā, 1913) are well known. An independent work was also composed by Rūpa with the sole object of fuller exposition of the sentiment of *Bhakti*. This is his *Bhaktirasūmṛtasindhu* (Baharampur). Rūpa had also a work on dramaturgy called *Nāṭaka-candrikā* (Cassimbazar - 1313 B. S.). The work is definitely stated to have been based on the Śāstra of Bharata and also on a work called *Rasa-sudhākara*. Just at the beginning the author utters a fling against the celebrated work the *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* which, he says, is full of inaccuracy and goes against the view of Bharata. The work deals with only one form of Drama, namely, *Nāṭaka*. The examples given in the work are from various Vaiṣṇava books of which some are of his own composition. As a matter of fact most of these are taken from the *Lalita-Mūdhava* so much so that it might as well be supposed to have been composed to elucidate the dramatic technique of the latter.

One more important work on Poetics by a Vaiṣṇava writer is *Alaṅkāra-kaustubha* of *Kavikarṇapūra*, another famous writer (Baharampur 1899; also V. R. S. series). The use of the study and composition of a *kāvya* according to this author, is not fame etc. alone, as other rhetoricians have it, but the enjoyment of that bliss which results from the absorption of the heart in the story of the amours of Kṛṣṇa (I. 8). He counts *bhakti*, *vātsalya* and *prema* under *rasa* (V. R. S. ed. p. 148). He finds fault with his predecessors without mentioning their names as regards the definition of *kāvya* which he defines as 'the composition of a poet'. (*Kavī-vāñ-nirmīṭṭiḥ kāvyaṃ*).

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE ABOVE ARTICLE

Ep. Ind.	--	Epigraphia Indica.
CS	—	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.
Ind. Ant.	--	Indian Antiquary.
I. O.	—	Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.
S. S. P.	--	Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.
V. R. S.	—	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON SEMANTICS

BY

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INTRODUCTORY

I was led to write this article on reading the reports of the lectures on Semantics delivered by Dr. Horowitz of Hunter College, New York, America, in Bombay and Poona. I have some criticisms to offer on the views of Dr. Horowitz, but I reserve these for a future occasion.

SEMANTICS

The word *Semantics*, I think, comes from an Aryan root, the Sanskrit representative of which is *Sam-man*. *Sam-man*, or simply *man*, means 'to think'. Semantics, therefore, thus refers to the 'thought', 'material' or 'meaning' of words. The word 'meaning' itself is again connected with this very root *man* 'to think'. It, therefore, means the 'thought' embodied in a word. Now, thoughts are about different departments of human activity as Social, Political, Religious, and so forth. The duty of Semantics is, therefore, not only to establish the 'meanings' of words, but also to gather historic information about the social, political, religious, and such other conditions of the people that used those words. In the several stages of the existence of words, however, the meanings of some of them, at times, undergo certain changes. It falls within the duty of semantics, again, to note such changes, if they have taken place, and to record the historic information about the corresponding changes in the conditions of the people, as indicated by these changes in meanings. The same words, in slightly different forms and meanings, appear in different related languages. Semantics must note and compare them, and must gather information of relative importance.

I have connected *Semantics* with *sam-man* above. Yet other connection of semantics is also possible. Words as shown above are the embodiments of thoughts. They are, in other words,

names given to thoughts. A Sanskrit word for name is *saṁ-jñā*. *Saṁ-jñā* strictly means 'a sign.' In fact, the Eng. *si-gn* and Skt. *Saṁ-jñā* are connected words, both in sound as well as in sense. *Saṁ-jñā* can convey the idea of both, -a word as also its meaning. In its latter sense it can be a Skr. word with which the word *Semantics* can otherwise be connected. *Semantics* is thus a science which deals with *saṁ-jñās* or names i. e. words, with particular regard to their meanings. In other words, semantics concerns itself with considering how names are given. This explanation of the word *Semantics* is not materially different from the one given before. For, *saṁ-man*, *saṁ-jñā*, *saṁ-mnā* and the Gr. *sema* (meaning 'sign') etc. are all interconnected words. *Semantics* can be connected with any of these.

On the subject of how names are given, Yāskācārya, one of the oldest Indian writers on etymology, philology, and *Semantics* has already offered some very sage remarks. Most of the names according to him, are given to objects in recognition of some principal actions or qualities of those objects. But, in this world, there exist many objects that have the same principal action or quality. Many names of the same meaning are, therefore, formed from different roots and then, by the Law of Specialisation, each one of these is restricted to each one of these objects. Thus, the objects denoted by the Skr. *madhu* (honey) and *śarkarā* (sugar) are two objects that have the same principal quality viz. 'sweetness.' Two different words viz. *madhu* and *śarkarā* are, therefore, formed from two different roots denoting the same idea of 'sweetness.' *Madhu* is formed from *svādu* which means, and with which is connected, Eng. *sweet*. *Śvādu* has its initial 's' dropped, *v* changed to its connected sound *m*, and *d* aspirated into *dh*. It thus assumes the form of *madhu*. *Śvādu* in its turn, is derived from *svad* (to taste, to be sweet), which *svad*, again, comes from *su--ad*. *Su* means 'good' and *ad* means 'to eat.' *Su--ad*, therefore, means 'to be good to eat' i. e. 'to be sweet.' *Śarkarā* is formed from *saṁ-gṛ* or *su-gṛ*, which also, like *su--ad*, means 'to be good to eat (gṛ)'. Eng. *su--gar* represents this *su--gṛ* better than Skr. *Śarkarā*. But though *madhu* and *śarkarā* are thus formed from roots which mean the same thing, still the object denoted by the word *madhu* is different from the

object denoted by the word *śarkarā*. In other words, *madhu* and *śarkarā* are words that are restricted to the particular objects denoted by them, by the Law of Specialisation. In the case of imitative words also, this Law of Specialisation does operate. It is thus that names are given to things. Semantics must also note this and explain these names accordingly, thus again establishing and making clear the meanings of words. The historic information which is stored in the various words is of course to be gathered as indicated above.

PHONETICS

Though semantics has thus to deal primarily with the 'meanings' of words, it cannot altogether ignore the *sound* aspect of the same. Sound and meaning are two very important parts of a word. Meaning is the inner soul, and sound the outer body. It is the union of this soul and body that makes up the living word. Sound, then, thus counts much in any dealing with words. In fact, the very word *word* comes from an Aryan root, the Sanskrit representative of which is *Sṛ*. *Sṛ* means 'to sound.' A word, therefore, means a sound or a combination of sounds intended to convey some particular meaning. *Sṛ* drops its initial *s* as already instanced in connecting *madhu* with *svūdu* above, and retains only *vr*. This *vr* then becomes the source of the Skr. *brū*. *Brū* means 'to utter a sound' 'to speak.' The dropping of an initial *s* is a phenomenon of frequent occurrence. It is referred to by Dr. Horowitz himself in one of his lectures when he derives 'ontology' from the Greek word 'sont.' The Eng. word *word* is to be connected with this very *vr*,—which, as we have seen, is thus the source of *brū*.

Sound, then, is an important consideration in the case of words. The word *sound* is connected with the Sanskrit root *śvan*, which, in its turn, is connected with the above mentioned *svr*. *Śvan*, again, is connected with *dhvan*, a sibilant sound being interchangeable with a dental sound. *Dhvan*, *śvan*, *svr*, *hr*, *brū*, all these are thus interconnected, and therefore convey the same idea of *dhvani* or sound. *Dhvan* itself appears to be an imitative root imitating the sound of a drum when beaten. We imitate the sound of the Marathi nagārā by saying *ḍhaṇ ḍhaṇ*. In fact, this

dhvan thus primarily seems to mean 'beats' or 'strokes' beaten. The Marathi sentence *tyāne tyālā dōn daṇakē dile* (he gave him two strokes) contains the word *daṇake* in the sense of 'beats' or 'strokes'. This *daṇake* (sing. *daṇakā*) is an imitative word cognate and connected with *dhvaṇ*. The more known *han* 'to strike' is only another form of this *dhvan*. When one object 'strikes' another a sound is produced. Hence, this *dhvan*, which originally must have meant 'to strike', afterwards came to mean 'to sound.' I leave this digression about the establishment of the meaning of *dhvan*, and re-assert my former proposition viz. that Semantics cannot afford to ignore the sound aspect of words.

Sound, then, thus forms an important part of Semantics. There is, however, a separate science which primarily deals with sound or *dhvani*. This science goes by the name of *phonetics*. The word *phonetics* comes from an Aryan root the Sanskrit representative of which is *śvan*. (1) The sibilant sound is either dropped or (2) is represented by the 'p' sound. Similarly (3) *v* also is represented by the *p* sound. The following connected pairs are examples concerned here: (1) *sont* and *ontology* (2) Skr. *darśana* (*drś* to see) and *darpaṇa* (mirror) (3) Skr. *gōpāla* and Marathi *gavali*. It would appear that Skr. *bhaṇ* 'to speak' 'to utter a sound' is nearer to the Greek *phōnē* (sound) from which, of course, the word *phonetics* is directly derived. But *bhaṇ* 'to speak' and *śvan* 'to sound' being interconnected, to connect *phonetics* with *bhaṇ* or with *śvan* is just the same. The consideration, viz. whether *śvan* came first or *bhaṇ* came first, and whether, therefore, *phonetics* is to be connected with *śvan* or *bhaṇ* in accordance with the relative time of these words, is a consideration which must not count here much. For, the determination of the relative time of so ancient words is bound to be dubious. Further, according to many modern philologists, European and Iranian, languages do not directly descend from Sanskrit. This being so, it is futile to try to settle the relative time of these words and then to state the connection. The only point to be noted here is this, viz., that *śvan* (with which is connected the English word *sound*), *bhaṇ*, *dhvan* (with which are connected the English words *tone*, *tune*, etc.), are all interconnected roots, and therefore convey the idea of *dhvani* or sound. It may even be that *śvan*, *bhaṇ*,

dhan, are the different results of imitating a sound as differently heard by the ear, and so on. Whatever that be, one thing is certain : viz. that *phonetics* is connected with these Sanskrit words and therefore it is clear that it has to deal with *sounds* : to state what sounds are changed to what other sounds, by observing a number of instances ; and to formulate certain laws like syncope, metathesis, anaptyxis, haplology, assimilation, and so on. Semantics and Phonetics thus deal with two vital aspects of words, and must go hand in hand.

DERIVATION

Semantics, I have shown above, is concerned with the meaning of words. The process which seeks to make the meaning more clear is known as derivation. Derivation is thus a part of Semantics. The word *derivation* comes from an Aryan root the Sanskrit representative of which is *adhi-hr*. *Adhi* loses its initial *a* and retains only *dhi*, *-dhi-hr* thus representing *de-rive* (derivation) more immediately. *Adhi* means 'first', and *hr* means 'to speak', 'to utter a word'. *Adhi-hr* therefore, thus conveys the idea of the 'first word', the 'origin' or 'source' of the particular word of which the derivation is to be given. 'Derivation' of a word then thus means 'giving the origin, source, or root' of that word : telling from what original first word or 'root' the particular word under consideration has come. The word *root* itself has its connection with the Sanskrit root *hr* 'to speak, to utter a sound.' This *hr* is connected with the above-mentioned *svr*. A 'root' therefore, means a 'word' that is spoken. Hence, the 'first word' or the 'origin' of other words derived from it. Skr. *dhātu*, which means a *root*, also may have come from the root *dā* 'to speak', 'to utter a word.' Skr. *dhātu* and Eng. *root* are probably inter-connected,—both being two different forms of one and the same original Aryan word. 'Dh' in '*dhātu*' and 'r' in '*root*' are connected sounds. A different way of explaining *adhi-hr* will be to take *adhi* in the sense of 'completely', and *hr* in that of 'to speak out', 'to explain.' Hence, *adhi-hr* will convey the idea of 'to explain completely (the meaning of a word)' by giving the root of that word. This way of explaining *adhi-hr* (and therefore explaining 'derivation') is perhaps a better one, and

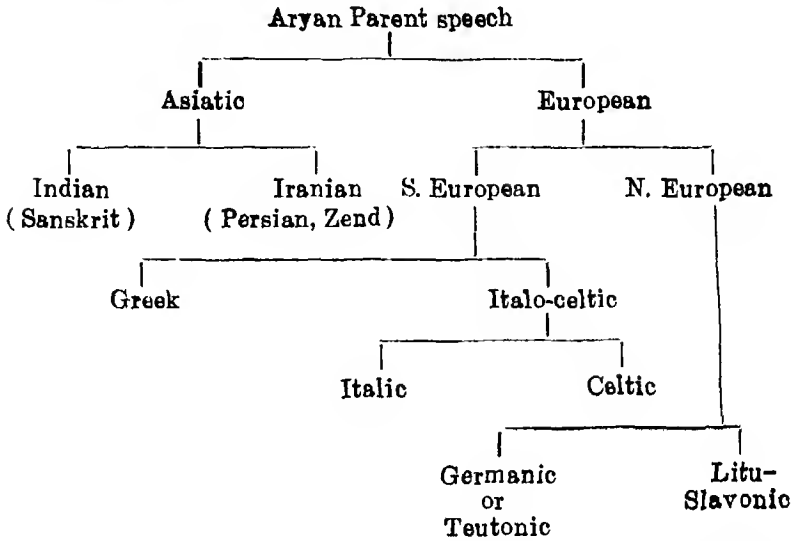
is in keeping with the explanation of *nirukta*,—a Sanskrit word for derivation. As is well-known, *nirukta* is explained as *nir-śeṣeṇa ukta*, and means 'complete explanation (of the meaning of a word)'. In fact, English *der-i-ve* may be connected with Sanskrit *nir-vac* (the root in *nirukta*) phonetically as well. *Der-ve* (i.e. *der-i-ve* with the middle 'i' dropped) represents *nir-va(c)* more immediately. Eng. 'de' is connected with Skr. 'ni' phonetically. The instance of Eng. *de-cide* connected with Skr. *ni-ści* (*nīścaya*) may be noted here.

De-ri-ve may otherwise be connected with Skr. *adhi-ruha* or *adhi-labha*. *Adhi-ruh* conveys the idea of 'growth' as *ruh* means 'to grow', and thus refers to the 'origin and growth' of words. *Adhi-labha*, on the other hand, conveys the idea of *upa-labha* in the sense of 'to get', and thus refers to the problem viz. how words are 'got', a problem which is, eventually the same as the ^{Sanskrit} problem of the origin and growth of words. *Vyulpalli*, another Sanskrit word for 'derivation' refers to an identical idea. In view of this the Eng. *root* may be connected with the Skr. *ruh* to grow and the Skr. *dhānu* with *dhā* to produce. But whether 'derivation' has its connection with 'adhi-ru' or with 'adhi-labha', or, best of all, with *nir-vac*, one thing is clear that derivation is concerned with explaining and clarifying the meaning of a word by quoting the root contained in that word.

CONNECTION

But this explanation and the clarification of the meaning is not achieved by derivation alone. It can be achieved by another process as well. I have chosen to name this process as *connection*. In the case of words belonging to the languages between which direct relation of parent and daughter cannot convincingly be established, the process of connection proves to be of great utility. Thus, in the establishment of the meaning of such English words as *semantics*, *phonetics*, *derivation*, etc., that have so far been explained, the process used is the one of *connection*. For, according to many modern philologists, as already stated above, Sanskrit is not the parent but only a collateral relative of English. It is because of this theoretical difficulty that the above mentioned explanation is to be called

as *connection* and not as *derivation*. In his concise English Dictionary, Dr. Annandale gives the following geneological table expressing the relations of the several members of the Aryan group of languages :—



Philologists, however, are not unanimous in holding Sanskrit as simply a collateral relative. There are some who regard Sanskrit to be the 'parent of the European languages.' Dr. Annandale himself speaks of such men though, of course, *dissentingly*. Says he :—"By those who have learned something vaguely of the antiquity and the linguistic importance of Sanskrit this language is sometimes supposed to be the parent speech of English and other European tongues." One may take this remark for what it is worth. I, however, mean to assure the Doctor, that Sanskrit is the oldest language available that represents the original parent Aryan speech most closely. This being so, it is but inevitable that connections of several words in the different members of the Aryan group of languages must be shown with Sanskrit, on as great a scale as possible, if at all anything like completeness is to be attained in the study of the Aryan branch of comparative philology. The Etymological portion of the Doctor's Dictionary, which, he says, has been

prepared with utmost care, would have improved in value to a very great degree, had the Doctor not thought so lightly of the antiquity and linguistic importance of Sanskrit! Most of the derivations offered by the Doctor fail to achieve the very object of derivation, viz. to establish and clarify the meanings of words by quoting their right roots. They are, on that account defective derivations. They should, therefore, be better replaced by *connections*,--connections of course with Sanskrit, the oldest representative of the original parent Aryan speech. Such a replacement would highly be in the interests of sense-determination and semantics.

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONNECTION AND DERIVATION

From the foregoing remarks it must be clear that connection is a wider relation than derivation. Also, derivation can be connection; but connection cannot always be derivation. Again, connection need not necessarily have a direct lineage; it can exist between collateral languages as well. While derivation necessarily pre-supposes direct descent. It cannot exist between collateral languages.

DEFECTIVE DERIVATION

Under this head, I wish to point out some of the unsatisfactory etymologies of modern etymologists. I have here taken up only a few instances, out of quite a huge number, from Dr. Annandale's Concise English Dictionary. In drawing up these etymologies the Doctor has consulted "the principal recent works treating of or throwing light on the etymology of English words". Dr. Horowitz apparently regards these etymologies as finally true. In this respect, of course, I emphatically differ from the Doctor. I have, accordingly, divided these unsatisfactory etymologies into five divisions as (1) incomplete derivations (2) wrong derivations (3) fanciful derivations (4) doubtful derivations and (5) uncertain derivations. Owing to want of space, I have here treated only one or two instances under each division. I now take them in order :--

(1) INCOMPLETE DERIVATIONS

Very many instances of Incomplete Derivations exist in English lexicons. I here take the instance of the word *Dear*

which means high-priced. Dr. Annandale gives the following etymological information of this word *dear* :

Dear [A. Sax. *dēore*, *dyre*, dear, beloved, high-priced ; O. D. *dier* Mod. D. *duur*, Icel. *dyrr*. Dan. and Sw. *dyr*. G. *thever*, dear, beloved high-priced, etc.].

Now I ask : Is this information of *dear* sufficient ? Does it, in any way, help to understand the meaning of *dear* better ? Does it establish and clarify the sense of *dear* ? If not, where is the utility of giving such incomplete derivation ? In fact, this is no derivation, but only a list of the different forms, in the different languages, of the word *dear*. It does not throw any light whatever on the meaning of that word. The following connection, therefore, of *dear*, is, I believe, more useful than this incomplete derivation of the same. This is that connection :

Dear in the sense of 'high priced', is to be split up into two parts as-*de* and *ar*. Of these two parts *de* denotes the Skr. *adhi*, and *ar*, *arha*. *Adhi* means *adhika* i. e. high, great, much, and *arha* means price. *Adhi-arha*, therefore, with which *de-ar* is thus connected, means 'high-priced.' It is thus that *dear* means 'high-priced'. As regards *de* denoting *adhi*, the connection of *de-rive* given above should be noted. Or the *de* in *de-ar* may represent the Skr. *ati* instead of *adhi*. *Ati* also, like *adhi*, means high, great, much. In fact, *ati*, and *adhi* are in this sense interconnected words, and are two forms of the same original Aryan word in the Parent Aryan Speech. The double *r* in *dyrr*, the Icelandic form of *de-ar*, is a sufficient proof to show that *ar*, the other part of *dear* represents the Skr. *arha*. For *arha* meaning 'price', the Eng. word '*price*' itself should be noted. *Price* is to be split up into *pr* and *ice*, in accordance with its meaning. *Pr* represents the Skr. *pra*, and *ice* the Skr. *arha*. The sibilant sound (in *ice*) and the aspirate sound (in *arha*) are interconnected interchangeable sounds, as instanced in the Skr. *sapta* (seven) connected with the Avesta *hapta*. *Pra* is, in many words, a meaningless prefix. The example of Eng. *pre-stige* connected by me with Skr. *pra-stu* should be noted here.'

1. Vide here my article in the March (1926) number of the Marathi magazine *Vividha jñāna vistāra*.

Pra-arha or *price* and simply *arha*, therefore, thus mean the same thing. The word *dear*, then, being in this way connected with *adhi-arha* comes to have the meaning of 'high-priced.'

I have connected *dear* with *adhi-arha* above. In this matter, for the sake of comparison, the Skr. word *mahārha* (dear) should be noticed. From this *mahārha*, the Marathi *mahāga* (dear) is derived. The formation of *mahārha* is similar to that of the Eng. *dear*. As is evident, *mahārha* comes from *mahā* (*mahat*) and *arha*. *Mahā* means high, great, much; and *arha* means *price*. *Mahārha*, therefore, means 'high-priced.' In like manner, *adhi-arha* or *dear* also means 'high-priced.'

SOME OBJECTIONS

I can here anticipate some objections that may perhaps, be brought against this connection of *de-ar* with *adhi-arha*. Thus, an objector would perhaps say that the very splitting up of *de-ar* into *de* and *ar* is incorrect. For, though, *de* may be found as a prefix in several words, still *ar*, in the sense of 'price' does not at all exist in the Eng. language,—as a separate word independently used anywhere even apart from the word *dear* which is thus explained to be a compound. How, then, can it be a constituent part of *dear*? To this question of the objector the following reply may be given: An examination of the formation of the several words in languages shows with sufficient clearness, that, words are formed in this way;—that a constituent of a compound word, even if not found to exist outside that compound, can yet be a very right constituent of that particular compound. The correct connection of the Marathi word *śakāḷa*, for instance, which word means 'morning', is with the Sanskrit word *uśāḥkālā* which also means 'morning'. To understand, however, this connection of *śakāḷa* with *uśāḥkālā* completely, *śakāḷa* must be split up into two parts as *sa* and *kāḷa*. *Sa* would then be connected with *uśāḥ*, and *kāḷa* with *kālā*. But this *sa*, in this sense, is not to be found at all in the Mar. language, as a separate word existing independently of and apart from the compound *śakāḷa*. Is it then, for this reason, wrong to split up *śakāḷa* into *sa* and *kāḷa*? Certainly not. For, in consideration of the meaning of *śakāḷa*, its connection with *uśāḥ-kālā* is but undoubtedly right. And, in

accordance with this connection, *śakāḷa* must be split up into *śa* and *kāḷa*. Even so, *dear* must be split up into *de* and *ar*.

Another objection against connecting *dear* with Skr. *adhi-arha* may still be there. The objector, here, will say that in Sanskrit literature, there is no such word as *adhi-arha* at all. The word for *dear*, in Sanskrit, is *nahārha*, and not *adhi-arha*. To coin, therefore, a new compound like *adhi-arha*, and then to connect the Eng. *dear* with this coined compound, is something which is strange. I may here retort by saying that this apparent strangeness of the connection disappears, in view of the following facts: The art of speaking and the art of writing are not of simultaneous invention. Also, it is not to be expected that whoever can speak can also write. Further *all* written literature can never be made accessible to any one whatever. Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that all this literature is somehow made accessible, it still remains evident that it cannot be made the subject of any thorough inspection. This being so, and for the reason that language consists of words *all* of which are not committed to writing, it is absurd to conclude that a particular word which is not found in the written literature of a particular language did never exist even in the spoken *speech* of that language. When the constituent members are proved to exist, there is reason to believe that the constituted compound also may have existed, at least in the *spoken speech*. And even supposing that it did not so exist, even in the spoken speech, it is evident that it can as well be *formed* at any time, and in any branch or dialect of a language. In fact to coin compounds from already existing constituent words is the very characteristic of a living language. Language grows in this way. No instances at all need be quoted in support of this self-evident statement. These being the facts of language, the objection that *adhi-arha* is not found in Skr. literature and that therefore the connection of *dear* with this *adhi-arha* is mistaken does not stand.

These are some of the main objections and their replies regarding this connection. It will now be too much to anticipate more objections and to meet them here. If any of the readers will particularly set forth any further objections, I shall feel glad to give my rejoinders to them as best as I can. In conclusion, I

may observe that, from the point of view of meaning, the derivation of *dear* as given by the Doctor is incomplete, and as such, it can better be replaced, or at least supplemented, by quoting the *connection* of the same with *adhi-aḥa*.

(2) WRONG DERIVATIONS

Under this division, I first take the instance of the word *temple*. The following etymological information appears against this word in Dr. Annandale's Dictionary :

Temple [Fr. *temple* from L. *templum*, a temple ; Originally a place marked or cut off, from root *tem* in Gr. *temnō*, to cut, whence Gr. *temenos*, a temple].

It may here be remarked in connection with this information that the derivation of the Eng. *temple* from the L. *templum* (a temple), through the Fr. *temple* as given by Dr. Annandale, may certainly be very right. But what is after all the use of this derivation? Does it, once more, tend to make the meaning of *templ* clearer in any degree? Moreover,—The further derivation of the L. *templum* from the root *tem* (in Gr. *temnō*) to cut is altogether wrong. It is based on similarity of sound *only*. There is no similarity of sense there. The explanation that temple meant originally 'a place marked or cut off' is baseless and is suggested by the wrong connection of *temple* with *tem* 'to cut'.

Eng. *temple*, so far as its meaning is concerned, is to be split up into three parts as *tem*, *p*, and *le*. Of these, *tem* is connected with Skr. *deva*, *p*, is only an additional sound that has crept in, and *le* is connected with Skr. *ālaya*. With the initial *ā* dropped, and the ending *ya* lost through phonetic decay, *ālaya* can very well assume the form *le*. Even in the Marathi *deūla*, a corrupted form of Skr. *devālaya*, only *la* of *ālaya* remains. The *t* of *tem* and the *d* of *deva* are connected sounds according to Grimm's Law. *Temple* and *devālaya* are, then, thus connected in form. In meaning too, they are similarly connected. For, *deva* means a deity, and *ālaya* means a house. *Devālaya*, therefore, thus means 'a house for a deity' 'an edifice dedicated to the service of a deity.' Eng. *temple* also means the same thing. Eng. *temple* and Skr. *devālaya* therefore, are thus completely connected. It is superfluous to

add that Fr. *temple*, L. *templum*, and Gr. *temenōs* are also ultimately connected with the Skr. *devālaya*.

CHANGE IN MEANING

The supporters of the derivation of L. *templum* from the root *tem* (to cut) will say that this derivation is right in spite of there being no connection whatever between the meanings of *templum* and *tem*. For, they will add, it is well known that the meanings of words undergo changes. This being so, the apparently unconnected meanings of *templum* and *tem* are but really connected, the one being only a *change* of the other. Well, may I say in return, this linguistic fact about the *change* in meanings can never be denied altogether by any student of etymology. At the same time, however, it must be remembered, that it is a fact which is not true in the case of *all* words. The mistake committed by those that try to see this change in the case of almost *all* words is this: They connect any two really unconnected words simply on the strength of their similarity of sound, and then explain away the real want of connection between their meanings by saying that a change has taken place in the meaning! There is in fact, no end to such a misfinding of this so called phenomenon of *change*. Whenever, really, there is any change in the meaning, it is natural and reasonable, and as such, can very easily be seen. But most etymologists are regardless of this fact, and therefore misuse this principle of change, so as to make it applicable almost universally. The present instance of *templum* (a temple) as connected with *tem* (to cut) is one such instance. Particularly when the connection of this *templum* with the Skr. *devālaya* is seen, as shown by me above, the truth of my remark will be evident to any unbiased reader.

HISTORY

The supporters of the derivation of *templum* from *tem* will once more say that it is a grave blunder to connect *templum* with *devālaya*. For, will they affirm, there is no 'history' to support this connection. Now, one may ask, what do these supporters exactly mean by 'history'? Do they mean (i) chronology, or (ii) relation of languages, or (iii) relation of the people who used the

languages, or (iv) a record of the various forms of *devālaya* in various stages of its existence,—the one form being the direct source of the other, and so on, until the L. form is ultimately reached, or lastly, (v) a record of *devālaya* in slightly altered forms in other related languages? If they mean (i) chronology, the question is in favour of Sanskrit. For, as stated above, Sanskrit is the oldest representative available of the original Parent Aryan speech. For, *R̥gveda* is the oldest literature, and *R̥gveda* is in Sanskrit. Sanskrit is, therefore, the oldest language. If, on the other hand, they mean (ii) relation of the languages, even then, my connection remains correct. For, opinions are now unanimous regarding the fact that Sanskrit and European languages are interconnected. If, again, they mean (iii) relation of people who used Sanskrit and the European languages, there is, again, in this matter, as in the previous one, no difference of opinion as regards the fact that these people were related, at least so far as their linguistic dealings are concerned. If, once more, they mean, (iv) a record of the various forms etc., my connection is still not wrong, because *connection* as I have already pointed out above, does not necessarily require the showing of any such forms. For, the languages to which the connected words belong, are not necessarily in the direct relation of daughter and parent. If, lastly, it refers to (v) a record of *devālaya* in slightly altered forms in other related languages, my connection is still in the right. For, *devālaya* does exist in the form of *devāḷa* in Marāṭhi, *devaḷa* or *devāḷa* in the Marāṭhi of the *kuṇbīs*, *temple* in English, *temple*, in French, *temenos* in Greek and so on. Thus, then, this connection is supported by such history. But the principal object of *connection* being to clarify the meanings of words, and the question of determining the relative time of the origination of every word being bound to be hopelessly dubious for want of sufficient data, the right thing to do is to connect Aryan words with Sanskrit in as great a number as is possible, with due regard paid to their meanings and sounds. This, I think, is sufficient 'history' in the circumstances of the matter.

This is what can be said with regard to the objection of 'history' as adduced against *connection*. Now, it can be asked, in return, where is the 'history' when the etymologists derive

templum from *tem* to cut? Is it not a derivation based on similarity of sound *alone*? If there is no 'history' in *connecting templum* with *devālaya*, there is not even a shadow of it in deriving the same from *tem* to cut. In the *connection*, there are at least two things important viz., *sound* and *sense*. In the *derivation*, however, there is only one thing, and that is sound. This is so not only in the single instance of the derivation of *templum* from *tem*, but in the instance of the derivations of a very great number of other words as well. To consider such derivations as correct, and then to gather 'historic' information from them as required by semantics, is, I think, dangerous to the cause of semantics.

Of wrong *derivations* that can better be replaced by right *connections* a very great number of instances can be cited,—far greater indeed than one can at first imagine. I have already cited one instance above. Below I add two more :—

Arsenal (meaning 'a repository or magazine of arms and military stores for land or naval service'). The following is the short account given of this word by the Doctor :

Arsenal [Fr. *arsenal*, Sp. *arsenal* from an Ar. word].

What the Arabic word is, in particular, the Doctor does not say. Mr. V. V. Bhide, the author of the '*Students' Eng. and Marathi Dictionary*' who has 'not departed from the practice of Eng. lexicographers', however, illumines us on this point. Says he :—

Arsenal (Ar. or house and *cino* an art).

Now, how does this art of deriving *arsenal* from the Arabic compound serve to clarify the meaning of the same? Should it not, then, be better replaced by its right *connection*?

Arsenal, from the point of view of its meaning, is to be split up into *arse*, *n*, and *al*. Of these, *arse* represents the Skr, *astra*, or, better, *śastra* (with the initial *ś* dropped as in several cases), and *al*, *ālaya*. *Al* represents *ālaya* even as the *le* of temple, as shown above, represents the same. *Astra*, or, better, *śastra* means 'a weapon of war' and *ālaya* means 'a house'. *Astrālaya* or *śastrālaya*, therefore, with which *arsenal* is thus connected means 'a house for (storing up or manufacturing) weapons of war.'

Arsenal, then, is thus connected with *astrālaya* both phonetically as well as from the point of view of meaning.

From the above-given connection of *arsenal* with *astrālaya*, (or with *astra-nilaya*,—*ālaya* and *nilaya* being the same in sense), it must have been clear that the part of *arsenal* which means 'a house' is not the first, but the last. Mr. Bhide, and perhaps also the 'English lexicographers' from whose 'practice' Mr. Bhide has 'not departed,' however, take the first part (and that of course *ar*) to convey the meaning of a house!

The other instance, that I have here chosen of wrong derivation based on similarity of sound *only*, wherein the sense is totally disregarded, and then the principle of *change* in sense is wrongly used, in a way so as to be completely blind for history, is that of 'blind'. This is how Dr. Annandale derives this *blind*:

Blind [A. sax. D. Icel. Sw. Dan. G. *blind*; originally meaning turbid or cloudy, and allied to *blend*, to mix.].

Now, it may once more be asked how does this derivation help to establish and make clear the meaning of *blind*? The explanation that it is allied to *blend* 'to mix' is positively wrong and is suggested only by the similarity in sound of *blind* and *blend*. As a matter of fact, *blind* and *blend* ought never to be confounded together. The right connection of *blind* (which, from the point of view of meaning, is to be written as *bl-ind*) is with Skr. *pra-andha*. *Pra-andha* as shown above in the case of *pra-arha* (price) is the same in meaning as simply *andha*. *Andha* means 'blind'. Eng. *blind*, therefore, is thus connected with Skr. *pra-andha* both in sound as well as in sense. Skr. *andha* in its turn is probably connected with Skr. *an-dṛś*. *Un* means 'not' and *dṛś* means 'to see'. *An-dṛś* or *andha*, therefore, with which Eng. *bl-ind* is thus connected, means 'one who cannot see' 'one who is destitute of the sense of sight'. It is thus clear, from this explanation, that Eng. *blind* is to be connected with Skr. *pra-andha*, and is not at all to be confounded with Eng. *blend*.

(3) FANCIFUL DERIVATIONS

Under this head, several kinds of derivations can be cited. However, the main kinds are two: (i) the first kind comprises

derivations that are fanciful because they are based on similarity of sound *alone*. The three instances of *temple* (as ultimately derived from *tem* to cut), *arsenal* (as derived from the Ar. compound *or* and *cino*), and *blind* (as confounded with *blend*), are instances also of this kind of fanciful derivations. A fresh instance may be noted here. This instance is of the word *finger*. Dr. Horowitz connects *finger* with Skr. *pañca* (five), while Dr. Annandale derives the same from a root which is found in *fang*. As a matter of fact Eng. *finger* can better be connected with Skr. *pra-aṅguli*. *Pra-aṅguli* is the same as simply *aṅguli*, even as *pra-andha* is the same as simple *andha* or *pra-arha* is the same as simple *arha*. *Aṅguli* as is well known, means a finger; *pra-aṅguli* also, therefore, would mean a finger. *Finger* and *pra-aṅguli* are thus mutually connected in meaning as well as in sound.

Pra-aṅguli, I have shown above, is the same in meaning as simple *aṅguli*. Now, this *aṅguli*, it may further be remarked incidentally, is, in its turn, connected probably with the Skr. *aṅk* 'to count.' It thus gives the following information, viz. that *aṅgulis* (i. e. fingers) were used for counting things formerly as at present. Another possible connection of *aṅguli* is with Skr. *saṅgr̥dh* which is the same as *saṁ-gr̥h* which means 'to grasp' 'to seize.' In fact, Eng. *grasp* is connected completely (i. e. in sound and sense) with Skr. *gr̥bh* 'to take' 'to seize' with which, again, are connected *gr̥dh* and *grah*. *Aṅguli*, with this connection, gives the information that *angulis* (i. e. fingers) were used principally for *grasping* things then as now. This, perhaps, is a better connection of *aṅguli* than the first one, as it points to the more primary action of *grasping* physically than the comparatively later action of *counting* which shows some degree of civilisation and advance.

(ii) The second kind under this head consists of derivations that are fanciful because they are based on some fanciful tales raised to the status of 'history.' As one instance of this, the following derivation of *quiz* (meaning 'puzzle') may be noted :

Quiz | said to have been originated simply to puzzle people, by Daly, the manager of a Dublin play-house, who had the letters *q u i z* put on all the walls of Dublin]—Annandale,

It appears from the use of the expression 'said to have been originated' in the explanation enclosed within brackets above, that Dr. Annandale himself does not accept this story of *quiz* quite whole-heartedly. At the same time, he does not seem to discard the same quite completely. He has, perhaps, a half-hearted belief in it. Whatever that be, the story looks only a story on the very face of it. Its historical value is nil. In Marathi, too, there are several such stories current among the people. But they are, of course, to be treated simply as folk tales, deserving to be totally brushed aside by a historical researcher.

The *connection* of *quiz* (which word ought to be written as *qu-iz* in view of its meaning) is with Skr. *ku-vid*. *Ku* means 'difficult,' and *vid* means 'to know.' *Ku-vid* or *quiz*, therefore, means 'that which is difficult to know,' thus 'a puzzle.' Skr. *Kūṭa*, Marathi *Kōḍe*, and Eng. *quiz*-all of which mean 'a puzzle' are all to be connected ultimately with this very *ku-vid*, and therefore mean what they mean.¹

(4) DOUBTEUL DERIVATIONS

Dr. Annandale offers the following derivation of *house* :

House [A sax. *hūs* = Icel. *hūs*, Dan. Sw. and Goth. *hūs*, D. *hūs*, G. *haus*; from root meaning to cover, as in *hide*, *hose*, *sky*, etc. Akin *husband*, *hussy*.]

This derivation of *house* appears to me to be dubious in view of the *connection* that I offer below :

From the point of view of meaning, the word *house* is to be split up into two parts as *ho* and *use*. Of these, *ho* is to be connected with Skr. *ū* and *use* with Skr. *vas*. The entire word *house*, therefore, is to be connected with the entire word *ū-vas*. *Ā* is

¹ Another very good example of this second kind of Fanciful Derivations is furnished by the so-called 'history' of *hip hip hurrah* recently published by the *Times of India* under *Current Topics*, in its issue of November 5, 1928. In my Marathi article entitled '*hip hip hurrah* va *Peter the Hermitchi Kalpita Kuthā*' published in the *puravani Dnyan Prakash* of 25-12-28. I have shown, in detail, how this so-called 'history' is not, or rather cannot be, real history, but is only one of the numerous fanciful stories invented about several words by the imaginative brains of certain people.

an unmeaning prefix, while *vas* means 'to dwell.' *Ā-vas*, therefore, with which *house* is thus connected, means 'a dwelling place.' That 'house' is to be connected with *ā-vas* is clear even from the German form of house viz. *ha-us* which represents the Skr. *ā-vas* more immediately. The Sanskrit word *ā-vasatha* (= a house) may be here noticed.

(5) UNCERTAIN DERIVATIONS

Under this division, I mean to show how certain words, the origin of which is regarded as uncertain, can best be connected with Sanskrit. For want of space, I take only one example here. This is of the word *pot*. The following is the information given of this *pot* by Dr. Annandale :--

Pot [A widely spread word, the origin of which is not clear. Fr. *pot*, D. *pot*, Dan. *potte*, Icel. *pottr*, W. *pot*, Ir. *pota*, a pot].

The connection of this *pot* is with the Skr. word *pātra* which means a 'pot'.¹ The Icel. *pottr* is very near to this Skr. *pātra*. *Pātra*, (to be written as *Pā-tra*, in accordance with its sense), in its turn, is to be connected with *payo-dhṛ*. *Payo* (*payah*) means 'water', and *dhṛ* means 'to hold.' *Payo-dhṛ*, therefore, with which Skr. *pātra* and Eng. *pot* are thus connected, means 'that which holds water', 'a vessel for holding water.' This connection of *pātra* yields the following historic information :

In their uncivilised condition, the Āryas had no vessels for storing up anything whatever. In fact the very idea of storing for future use was perhaps then not known. Gradually, however, as civilisation advanced and the necessity for storing up things began to be felt, the Āryas prepared several vessels for storage. The first such vessel was, probably, our *pātra*. For, while leaving the primitive stage and wandering over the earth's surface in search of food and suitable habitation, they must have felt the necessity of taking some store of water with them, as water is not to be found *everywhere*. Even when dwelling in a house, the storing of water is absolutely required. Anyway, water is a

¹ I have already shown this connection in my edition of *Raghuvamśa* (on page 83, Notes), where the connection of various other words likewise occurs,

very important necessity of life, and as such, it must, most probably, have been stored up first. The vessel, therefore, which was prepared thus to store up water, was given the significant name of *payo-dhṛ* or *pātra*. Subsequently, however, this very vessel, which was originally meant for storing up water, was likewise used for storing up other things as well. Hence it is that they could speak of a *pātra* for food, a *pātra* for flowers, a *pātra* for corn, and a *pātra* for anything. The original idea of 'water' was lost, and *pātra*, in course of time, came to denote a vessel for storing or placing almost *anything*.

That *pātra* is connected with *payō-dhṛ* can be seen by considering the Eng. word *pitcher*. This word also, like *pātra*, is connected with *payō-dhṛ*.¹ For, from the point of view of meaning, the word *pitcher* is to be split up into two parts as *pi* and *tcher*. Of these, *pi* represents *payō* (*payah*), and *tcher* represents *dhara* (*dhṛ*). *Pitcher*, therefore, thus represents *payō-dhṛ*, both phonetically as well as from the point of view of meaning. The derivation of *pitcher*, as given by the Eng. etymologists, is, of course, incomplete.

The traditional explanation of *pātra* is, that *pātra* comes from *pā* to drink. *pātra*, therefore, is a drinking vessel. To my mind, however, my former explanation appears to be better than this traditional view, as the idea of *storing* seems to be the more principal idea in *pātra* than the one of drinking.

So far, I have tried to ascertain and explain the meanings of such words, as *semantics*, *phonetics*, *derivation*, and so on. I have done this by showing the *connections* of these words with the corresponding Skr. roots or words. As occasion arose, also, I tried to show how the derivations of most Eng. words, as given by eminent etymologists, are defective, and how, therefore, they can better be replaced by right *connections*. If an attempt is made to replace all these defective derivations by their corresponding better *connections*, I think it will prove to be of immense use to the science of word-explanation and *semantics*! Will such an attempt see the light of day in the near future?

¹ I have shown this connection in my booklet entitled *Marāṭhi Arthasiddhi* published last year.

WORDS IN RGVEDA

BY

PRIN. V. K. RAJVADE, M. A.

(continued)

अमति = Poverty etc.

The word means evil or an enemy.

अरे अस्मत्पतिमारे अंह अरे विश्वां दुर्मतिं यन्निपासि ४।१।१६.

प usually to protect means here to keep off.

अरे = इरे. अमति, दुर्मति and अंह: mean the same thing.

Agni keeps off far from us all evil or all enemies.

अरे अस्मत्पतिं बाधमानः ३।८।२ ॥ निरुन्धानो अमतिं गोभिः १।५३।५ ॥ अमतिं बाधमाना ३।५३।५ ॥ गोभिष्टरेमामतिं १०।४२।१० ॥ सेधतामतिं १०।५६।४.

In all these instances अमति is something to be destroyed or kept at a distance. गोभिष्टरेमामतिं (१०।४२।१०) and निरुन्धानो अमतिं गोभिः (१।५३।५), show that अमति is poverty that is to be antagonised by means of cows. It means hunger as in त्वं नो अस्या अमतेरुत क्षुधोऽभिशस्तेरव स्पृधि (८।६६।१४). Indra shields men from poverty, hunger, and such other harassment.

अमतेः = क्षुधः = अभिशस्तेः.

वि षू इदिन्द्रो अमतेरुत क्षुधः (१०।४३।१०) = इन्द्रः अमतेः उत अपि च क्षुधः अस्मान् विवृत् वारयतु.

पुरुहूत वेपते मनो मिया मे अमतेः (५।३६।३) = अमतेः वारिग्रस्य भयेन मे मनः वेपते कम्पते.

मा नो अग्नेऽमृतये मावीरताये रीरधः (३।१९।५) = O Agni, do not subject (रीरधः) us to poverty and to sonlessness.

मा नो अग्नेऽवीरते परा दा दुर्वाससेऽमृतये मा नो अस्यै (७।१।१९) means the same. अवीरते = अवीरताये. दुर्वाससे unclad. अस्यै to this notorious. परादाः = रीरधः.

अप हन रक्षसो भङ्गुरावतः स्कभायन निर्रतिं सेधतामतिम् (१०।५६।४); here poverty is classed with demons (रक्षसः) and hell (निर्रतिं).

अनापिरक्षाः असजान्यामतिः पुरा नस्या अभिशस्तेरव स्पृतम् (१०।३९।६). आपि, ङा and सजान mean a relative. Poverty is no relative, no loving kinsman or kinswoman of man. The Ásvins are implored to save men from that evil one before she visits them.

नि बाधते अमतिः (१०।३३।१). Poverty afflicts.

युयोता शरुमस्मदाँ आदित्यास उतामतिम् (८।१८।११). The Ādityas are requested to keep from men injury (शरु) and also poverty (अमतिं).

The word in almost all instances means crushing, pitiless poverty, and is opposed to सुमति which means the good-will of the gods, blessing, riches. It is the same as दुर्मति which means the ill-will of the gods or enemies. All these three words are derived from मन् to think.

न त्वा रासीयाभिशास्तये वसो न पापत्वाय सन्त्य ।

न मे स्तोतामतीवा न दुहितः स्यादग्ने न पापया (८।१९।२६) =

I would not deliver thee, Oh Agni, to harm (अभिशास्तये), nor to wickedness. I do not like that wicked, evil-minded men should curse thee. My men (मे स्तोता) are neither evil-minded (अमतीवा), nor villainously disposed (दुहितः) nor lovers of villainy (पापया).

अमति = Light

व्युर्वी पृथ्वीममतिं सृजानः (७।३८।२) = (the Sun) creating broad and wide light.

विश्रयमाणो अमतिं (७।४५।३) = (the Sun) spreads light far and wide.

आ बन्धुरेवमतिर्न दर्शता विद्युन्न तस्यो मरुतो रथेषु चः (१।६४।९) = हे मरुतः वः युष्माकं बन्धुरेषु रथेषु रोदसी आतस्थो आतिष्ठति । कीदृशी रोदसी । अमतिः इव विद्युत् इव दर्शता दर्शनीया. Ródasi, the mother of the Maruts, is as bright as lightning or sunlight.

वि सूर्यो अमतिं न श्रियं सात् (५।४५।२) = सूर्यो यथा अमतिं प्रकाशं विसात् ददाति तथा श्रियं शोभां ददातु.

तदिन्द्रस्य सवितुर्नाकिर्मे हिरण्ययीममतिं यामशिभेत् (३।३८।८) = या हिरण्ययीम् अमतिं सविता श्रयति ताम् अस्य सवितुः अमतिं नाकिः न कोऽपि श्रयेत्. मे cannot be construed as also तदिन्द्रः. तदिन्द्रः अस्य सवितुः may be thus construed and interpreted:-अस्य सवितुः तत् इत् नु अद्भुतम् । किं तत् । या हिरण्ययीम् अमतिम् असौ सविता श्रयति तां नाकिः न कोऽपि श्रयति. The Sun's brilliance is peculiar to it. मे is unintelligible.

अनु भ्रुताममतिं बर्धदुर्वी (५।६२।५) and बर्धमानावमतिं क्षत्रियस्य (५।६९।१); here Mitra and Varuna are said to increase the well-known (भ्रुता) and wide-spread brilliant light of the powerful Sun.

Mitra and Varuna were once the most powerful deities; other gods depended on them.

अमतिर्न सत्यः (१।७३।२); this is about Agni. I cannot interpret the words. Agni perhaps is sunlight itself.

अमति in almost all these instances means sunlight.

How is the word to be derived ? According to Yāska, as the word has two unconnected meanings, it must have two derivations.

अमति as evil is the negation of मति ; or

Is अमति sunlight connected with अम which means power or powerful ? Is it something that cannot be conceived ? Sunlight is unique. Who can say what the true derivation is.

यहु

The word means a son. सहस्रो यहुः is used of Agni 6 times and सहस्रो यहो once. Agni is the son of strength, as strength is required in producing him.

Indra is addressed as यहो once (८१४५) as he is the son of some one, perhaps of strength. It is really transferred from Agni to Indra.

यह्

Agni is called यह् 11 times. Once he seems to be called the son of Aditi (यह्ने अदितेः १०११११), and once son of the Dawn (यह्मुषसः १०१२१२), and once of the Purus (यो यह्ं पुरुषां विशां देवयतीनाम् ११३६११). So यह् in the 11 instances may mean a son. But whose son ? Of सहस् or of the 7 mothers to be mentioned immediately ? Indra (८१३१२४) and Sōma (९१७५११) are called यह्.

तदिन्द्रस्य चेतति यह्ं प्रत्नेषु धामसु (८१३१२०) = तत् उक्तं रुद्रस्य यह्ं मरुद्गणं प्रत्नेषु पुराणेषु धामसु स्थानेषु चेतति जानाति = praise discovers the Maruts, Rudra's sons, in all old well-known places. This construction and interpretation are mere guesses.

इदं मे अग्ने० मन्म । बृहद्वाथ गभीरं यह्ं (४१५१६) = हे अग्ने मम इदं बृहत् गभीरं यह्ं मन्म स्तोत्रं दद्याथ धत्तव. Prayer is called यह् because Agni is called so. What does यह् mean ? Just as a son is dear, so things that are dear may be called यह्.

तमिद्यह्ं न रोदसी परि अवी बभूवदुः (५११६१४) = यथा रोदसी यावापुषिभ्यो न वीरं यह्म् इव परिभवतः परिचरतः । स वीरः तेषां भवः धनमेव.

अथा ह्यम एषां सुवीर्यस्य मंहना is the 1st half. It may be construed thus :—अग्ने एषां यजमानानाम् एतेभ्यो यजमानेभ्यः सुवीर्यस्य सुवीरस्य वीरपुत्रस्य मंहना इति

उपाकुर्वन् = favour these men, Oh Agni, with the gift of a good brave son.

The 2nd half means :—Heaven and earth favour that son as though he were theirs. His value is in gold (अवः).

These 3 Rks are hard. My interpretations are mere attempts. They cannot satisfy any one.

यक्षी

The feminine of यद् is यक्षी a daughter.

Night and the Dawn are the daughters of योस्.

यक्षी दिवः । उवासानका (५।४।१०) = उवासानके दिवः यक्ष्यौ.

In other Rks they are called यक्षी without the addition of the word दिवः.

यक्षी ऋतस्य मातरा (१।१४२।० ॥ ५।५।१६) = they are the daughters of योस् and mothers of Rta i. e. sacrifice or Agni.

The रोदसी also are यक्षी ऋतस्य मातरा (१।१०२।० ॥ १०।५९।८) ; रोदसी देवपुत्रे प्रत्ने मातरा यक्षी ऋतस्य (६।१०।५) = देवाः पुत्राः ययोः ते रोदसी ऋतस्य यक्षस्य अग्नेर्वा प्रत्ने मातरौ यक्ष्यौ च.

महि यावापृथिवी धृतमुर्वी नारी यक्षी न रोदसी सद् नः (१०।९३।१) = हे महि महत्यो नारी यावापृथिव्यो यक्ष्यो रोदस्यो इव अस्माकं सद् सद्नाय उर्वी उर्व्यौ धृतं भवनम्. This quotation shows that the रोदसी were different from यावापृथिव्यो. Were they the same as नक्तोवासा ? यावापृथिव्यो cannot be the daughters of योस्.

यक्षीः

Agni's mothers are the 7 daughters of heaven.

वज्राजा सीमनद्वतीरद्व्या दिवो यक्षीरवसाना अनम्राः (१।१।१६) = सीम् अयम् अग्निः अनद्वतीः शब्दश्च अकुर्वतीः अद्व्याः केनापि अहिंसिताः अवसानाः वज्राणि न वसानाः तथापि अनम्राः दिवः यक्षीः दुहितुः वज्राज = Agni goes to the daughters of Heaven that make no sound while flowing, whom none dare injure, who wear no clothes and are yet not naked. Agni goes to them for being born.

सना अत्र युवतयः सयोनिरकं गर्भं दधिरे सप्त बाणीः is the second half of the above Rk. सयोनीः समानयोन्यः समानमातृकाः सनाः सदैव युवतयः दुराण्यः अपि युवतयः सप्त बाण्यः बह्व्यः अपि एकं गर्भं दधिरे = They are born of the same mother ; though ancient, they are young ; though seven, they conceive or have in their wombs one only. They are the 7 voices.

अवर्षयद् सुमर्गं सप्त यक्षीः येनं जज्ञानमर्षं (१।१।४) = जज्ञानं जायमानं जातं वा अर्षं धीमं येनं सुमर्गम् अग्निं दिवः सप्त बह्व्यः दुहितरः अवर्षयद्.

अग्निं० अग्निं० सवन्ने० सप्त यज्ञीः (११०११०). अमितसवन्ने = सवन्ने.

पूर्वाः वैश्वः नराय० यज्ञीः (११५११४) = The many daughters of Heaven (offer food) to Agni.

तस्य ज्येष्ठं महिमानं बहन्ती हिंरण्यवर्णाः परि यन्ति यज्ञीः (२१३२१९) = तस्य अपानपानः अग्नेः ज्येष्ठं महिमानं गर्भत्वेन बहन्त्यः ताः हिरण्यवर्णाः दिवः यज्ञ्यः परियन्ति = The daughters of Heaven, gold-coloured flow on, carrying in their wombs Agni's highest greatness i. e. Agni himself. Or तस्य ज्येष्ठं महिमानं बहन्तीः may mean तस्ये अपानये ज्येष्ठं महिमानं दृत्तं बहन्त्यः = giving him his best food.

आपो नये वृत्तमन्नं बहन्तीः० परि दीयन्ति यज्ञीः (२१३५११४) = Waters, daughters of Heaven, carrying ghee, his food, to Agni, flow on.

नै सूर्यं हरितः सप्तः यज्ञीः स्वशं विधस्य जगतो बहन्ति (४११३१३) = The Sun is none else but Agni. The Sun's mares are the 7 daughters of Heaven. The Sun i. e. Agni is the overseer of the whole world. They bear him along.

Here there is a complete identification between Agni and the Sun.

स्वाध्वो दिव आसप्त यज्ञी रायो दुरो व्युतज्ञा अजानन् (११०२१८) = those well-versed in sacrifice (स्वतज्ञाः), full of prayers (स्वाध्वः) well knew (व्यजानन्) the the gates of, or doors leading to, riches, as the 7 daughters of Heaven do. आ = इव.

दिवो यज्ञीमिर्न युहा बभूव (३१११९) = Agni lay hidden long; but the daughters of Heaven conceived him and so he could no longer remain hidden.

यज्ञीर्जतस्य मातरः । मयुज्यन्ते दिवः शिशुम् (९१३३१५) and वृजन्ति त्वा नयः सप्त यज्ञीः (९१९२१४). Here Soma is identified with Agni. Soma is mixed with water. So the daughters of Heaven, mothers of sacrifice or Agni (here Soma), wash Heaven's son. यज्ञीः = नयः.

. सप्त यज्ञीः = ऋतस्य मातरः = Mothers of sacrifice that is Agni, here Soma.

यज्ञी in course of time came thus to stand for waters.

सं यद्वनन्त मय्युमिः जनासः गुरा यज्ञीष्वोषधीषु विष्टुं (७१५६११२) = the heavenly people (जनासः = दिव्या जनाः), the brave Maruts gathered together with all their power (मय्युमिः) in waters (यज्ञीषु), plants and men.

यानि स्थानान्यथिना दधाय दिवो यज्ञीष्वोषधीषु विष्टु (७१००१३) = those seats that the Asvins held in waters (daughters of Heaven), plants and men.

आवत्त वज्रमभि यदहिं हम् अपो यद्हीरसृजत्तर्त्वा उ (५।२९।२) = Indra took up his thunderbolt when he killed the serpent and then he caused the waters—the daughters of Heaven—to flow.

स यद्द्वयोऽवनीः जुहोति (१०।१९।४) = Indra gives (जुहोति ?) waters (अवनीः), daughters of Heaven (यद्द्वयः).

Thus यहुः a son ; यद्ही a daughter. यद्हीः sometimes stands for waters which are the daughters of Heaven. Just as यहुः does not mean महान्, so यद्ही, feminine of यहुः, should not mean महती.

यद्ह is a variation of यहु.

यद्हतीः

ते सेधन्ति पयो वृकं तरन्ते यद्हतीरपः (१।१०५।११) = ते सुपर्णाः पयो वृकं पयि वर्तमानं वृकं यद्हतीः यद्हीः अपश्च तरन्ते पीडयन्ते वृकं सेधन्ति हिंसन्ति. Vritra or any other foe blocks the path of the waters and troubles them. The gods kill him.

यत्र राजा वैवस्वतो यत्रावरोधनं दिवः । यत्रामुर्यद्हतीरापस्तत्र माममृतं कृषि (१।१११।८) = Make me immortal there, Oh Soma, where reigns king Vaivasvata, where there is the presence (अवरोधनं ?) of Heaven, and where flow the waters, the daughters of Heaven.

There is no reason why यद्हतीः should be different in meaning from यद्हीः.

Sāyana everywhere renders यद्ह, यद्ही and यद्हती by महान् and महत्या.

यद्हा इव प्र वयामुज्जिहानाः प्र भानवः सिन्धवे नाकमच्छा (५।१।१) = Agni's beams soar (प्रसिन्धवे) towards heaven like skylarks (यद्हाः ?) leaving the branches of trees (at early morn). यद्ह must be some bird.

सिन्धोरिव प्राध्वने शुषनासो वातप्रमियः पतयन्ति यद्हाः । घृतस्य धारा अरुषो न वाजी काष्ठा भिन्दन्मृमिभिः पिन्वमानः (४।५८।७) = इव यथा सिन्धोः प्राध्वने प्रवाहे शुषनासाः दीर्घनासिकाः वातं ये प्रमिनन्ति हिंसन्ति यद्हाः केचित् पक्षिणः पतयन्ति धावन्ति तथा ऊर्मिभिः घृतस्य धाराः पतयन्ति गच्छन्ति । यथा अरुषः तेजस्वी वाजी अश्वः काष्ठाः आजिमर्यादाः भिन्दन् अतिक्रमन् धावन्ति तथा. यद्हाः seem to be certain birds that have long (शुष ?) beaks (नासः ?) and that defeat opposing winds (वातप्रमियः) while coursing along the current of the Indus. So do streams of ghee run towards Agni. Again these streams are compared to a race-horse that running a race at times crosses the paling (काष्ठाः) or the goal. पिन्वमानः grammatically goes with वाजी but in sense with धाराः ; it should be therefore पिन्वमानाः. In this sentence ऊर्मिभिः पिन्वमानः (नाः) is misplaced.

In these two Rks यद्हाः is altogether a different word. यद्हाः is not feminine, though Sāyana says so.

MISCELLANEA

BHAVADĀSA AND ŚABARASVĀMIN

That Bhavadāsa was an ancient commentator of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* follows from the fact that he is mentioned in the *Ślokovārtika* by name and Kumārila appears to say¹ that Bhavadāsa explained the words 'athātaḥ' occurring in the first sūtra of Jaimini as together conveying 'ānantarya'. Sucaritamīśra in his *Kāśikā* on the *Ślokovārtika* says the same on this passage² and quotes a half verse³ from Bhavadāsa which gives this meaning of 'athātaḥ'. The important question is to find out the relationship of Bhavadāsa and Śabara. The *Ślokovārtika* says that in certain other commentaries of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsā* the popular meaning of certain words is given up (as in the case of 'athātaḥ') and that this method of interpretation is found fault with by the bhāṣyakāra in his opening words.⁴ Both Pārthasārathimīśra and Sucaritamīśra explain that the 'other commentaries' (vṛttyantareṣu) spoken of in the *Ślokovārtika* are those of Bhavadāsa and others.⁵ Hence it follows that Bhavadāsa was a

¹ प्रतिज्ञोप्यथशब्दादेः किं पदार्थोत्र वर्ण्यते ॥ प्रदर्शनार्थमित्येके केचिन्मार्गवाचिनः । तन्मुखायाव-
वच्छिद्य भवदासेन कलितात् ॥ शक्तितोऽप्ययं चैव वर्णयन्त्यहमाविषत् । श्लोकवार्तिक
(प्रतिज्ञासूत्र verses 62-64).

² 'इदं त्वयात इति पदद्वयं भवदासेनानन्तर्यार्थतया कल्पितम् ।' काशिका on श्लोकवार्तिक
(प्रतिज्ञासूत्र 63).

³ 'भवदासेन चोक्तम्—अथात इत्ययं शब्द आनन्तर्यं प्रयुज्यते ।' काशिका on तन्मवार्तिक
(प्रतिज्ञासूत्र 34).

⁴ वृत्त्यन्तरेषु केषांचिल्लौकिकार्थव्यतिक्रमः । शब्दानां वृत्त्यते तेषामुपालम्भोयमुच्यते ॥ अथात इत्ययं
लोके नानन्तर्यं प्रयुज्यते । तस्मात्सादृश्यमेतस्य परिभाषाविमर्शेत् ॥ प्रसिद्धाणि शब्दानामप्रसिद्धे
च कल्पना । न कार्या वृत्तिकारेण सति सिद्ध्यर्थसंभवे ॥ श्लोकवार्तिक (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र 33-35).

⁵ केषांचिदि भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु शब्दानामलौकिकोऽप्युपवर्णितः । तेनैव भाष्येणोपालम्भ्यते ।
यावादि पूर्वग्रन्थदोषोद्घातनेन स्वग्रन्थगुणवत्ताख्यापनेन वा विशेषो न प्रदर्श्यते तावन्न भोलाः
श्रोतुमाद्वियेत् । काशिका on श्लोकवार्तिक (प्रतिज्ञासूत्र 33); उपालम्भपूर्णं परिच्छेदं
वृत्त्यन्तरेष्विति । केषांचिद्भवदासादीनां वृत्त्यन्तरेषु । न्यायरात्नाकर ; the words of शबर are
'लोके येष्वर्थेषु प्रसिद्धानि पदानि तां सति संभवे तदर्थान्येषु सूत्रेष्वित्यवगन्तव्यं भाष्याहारादि-
विशेषां परिकल्पनीयार्थः परिभाषितव्यो वा '.

vṛttikāra, while Śābara was a bhāṣyakāra of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā. It further follows from the Ślokaṛtika as interpreted by the two commentators thereof that Śābara criticized the explanation of the words 'athātah' offered by Bhavadāsa. Bhavadāsa is thus earlier than Śābara. We know from other sources that Bodhāyana wrote a vṛtti on the Pūrvamīmāṃsā called kṛtakoti and that Upavarṣa abridged it. Both Bodhāyana and Upavarṣa are very much earlier than Śābara, who could not have flourished later than the 4th or 5th century A. D. Bhavadāsa must have flourished before the 4th century A. D., being as shown above earlier than Śābara. The work of Bhavadāsa, though a vṛtti, seems to have contained Kārikās as the Kāśikā quotes a half verse from it and thus resembled the Tantravārtika of Kumārila in form.

Parthasarathimīśra tells us that Bhavadāsa split the fourth sūtra of Jaimini (Sat-Samprayoge &c.) into two parts and held that the portion upto 'pratyakṣam' constituted the definition of pratyakṣa and that the words 'animittam vidyamānopalammbhanatvāt' urge that pratyakṣa is of no use in understanding *dharma*.¹ The Kāśikā also says that this was the way of taking the sūtra followed in another vṛtti (i. e. by Bhavadāsa) and (on p. 211) refers to Bhavadāsa in connection with this sūtra.

P. V. KANE.

¹ भवदासेनैतत्सूत्रं द्विधा कृत्वा सत्संयोगे इत्येवमादि तत्प्रत्यक्षमित्येवमन्तं प्रत्यक्षलक्षणपरम्, अनिमित्तमित्यादि च तस्य धर्मं प्रत्यक्षमित्यन्तपरं व्याख्यातम्, तदुपम्यस्य दूषयति वर्णयति इति । व्याख्यानकर ०८ श्लोकवार्तिक (प्रत्यक्षसूत्र १) ; तद्विदे इत्यन्तरेऽनिमित्ताद्वच्छिद्य तत्प्रत्यक्षमित्येवमन्तं लक्षणपरं व्याख्यातं तदुपम्यस्य दूषयति वर्णयति इति । काशीका,

THE KUNDAMĀLĀ AND BHĀSA

In vol. IX of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute pp. 333-34 Mr. D. R. Mankad contributes a note on the authorship of the 13 dramas ascribed to Bhāsa. He quotes a passage from the Kundamālā and sees therein a reference to the Pratimā, one of the 13 Trivandrum publications. The explanation of Mr. Mankad may be very ingenious, but is very far from convincing. Why the words "*padimāgado mahārāo*" should mean "*Dāśaratha as portrayed in the 'Pratimānāṭaka'*" passes one's understanding. In the passage quoted from the Kundamālā all those that are mentioned by Sītā as the objects of her reverence and solicitude were *living* (except Dāśaratha), viz. the capital Ayodhyā, the mothers-in-law and her friends. Dāśaratha alone was then dead. The former are not intended as taken from any Drama or any other work. Why is it necessary to take only the reference to Dāśaratha as from the Drama Pratimā? What is more natural than to suppose that Dāśaratha being dead the author of the Kundamālā supposed that his image had been erected in the palace and was honoured by his sons and daughters-in-law. Supposing there is no mention of the image of Dāśaratha in the Rāmāyaṇa, there is nothing to prevent the author of the Kundamālā from adding a detail from his own experience while inditing a message of Sītā. Does Mr. Mankad mean to say that the author of the Kundamālā never intended to add anything to what is contained in the Rāmāyaṇa? The Rāmāyaṇa mentions in the message of Sītā only her mothers-in-law (Uttarakāṇḍa 48, 10 Kumbhakonam edition).

The whole foundation of Mr. Mankad's hypothesis is so slippery and imaginary that hardly any one of those who are thoroughgoing advocates of Bhāsa's authorship of the 13 plays will take it seriously.

P. V. KANE.

THE PAUNḌARĪKA AND OTHER SACRIFICES.

Prof. P. V. Bapat in the Annals Vol. IX p. 329 puts certain queries about Puṇḍarīka and other Vedic sacrifices mentioned in Pāli sacred books. The Paunḍarīka, I find, was an Ekādaśa-rātra sacrifice. Vide Āpastamba-śrauta-sūtra 22-24-8-11 and Āśvalāyana-śrauta-sūtra (Uttaraśatka, chap. 4.4). In the Rāmāyana also Rāma is said to have performed the Paunḍarīka, Āśvamedha, Vājapeya and other sacrifices. I was not able to lay my hands on the other sacrifices mentioned. If one may hazard a conjecture, the 'Nirargala' was probably the Viśvajit.

P. V. KANE

RATHYĀPURUṢA—THE MAN IN THE STREET.

Sometimes very startling similarities are discovered in the expressions used in such widely differing languages as Sanskrit and English. Everyone is acquainted with the words 'the man in the street'. In Sanskrit also the literal translation of these words has been employed to convey the same idea. Sucarita-miśra in his Kāśikā¹ on the Śloka-vārtika (Trivandrum ed. p. 63) says 'How can you compare *Codanū* (Vedic injunctive passage) with the words of a man in the street (*rathyāpuruṣa*), who may be anybody' (an ordinary person, a Tom, Dick or Harry). The same words are repeated on p. 75.

P. V. KANE.

To the above note on *rathyāpuruṣa* I just want to add that that word occurs in the same sense no less than seven times in a passage of the Vivṛti of Siddharsigani on the Nyāyāvatāra of Siddhasena Divākara (pp. 56-57, P. L. Vaidya's edition, 1928) when the author is illustrating different kinds of *Drṣṭāntābhāsa*. The passage runs as follows :

'संदिग्धसाधनधर्मो यथा । वीतरागोऽयम्, मरणधर्मत्वात्, रथ्यापुरुषवत् । रथ्यापुरुषे वीतरागत्वस्य संदिग्धत्वात् । विशिष्टचेतनो धर्माणां विशिष्टव्याहारादिति निगम्यत्वात् रथ्यापुरुषे तन्निर्णयस्याप्यभावादिति । संदिग्धसाधनधर्मो यथा । मरणधर्मस्य पुरुषः, रागादिमत्त्वत् रथ्यापुरुषवत् । रथ्यापुरुषे रागादिमत्त्वस्य संदिग्धत्वात्, वीतरागस्यापि तथा संभववदिति । संदिग्धोऽयमयधर्मो यथा । अस्वर्गोऽयं रागादिमत्वात् रथ्यापुरुषवत् । रथ्यापुरुषे प्रवृत्तिन्यायेनोच्यस्यापि संदिग्धत्वादिति ।'

A. B. G.

¹ अत्रापरं भाष्यं 'मन्वन्तं यामृतमप्यर्थं ब्रूयाच्चेदना यथा यत्किंचन लौकिकं वचनं नद्यासीरे फलानि सन्तीत्यादि ।' तदयुक्तम् । कथं हि यावद्दशतादृशरथ्यापुरुषवाक्यमुपमानं बोद्धव्याः । अपौरुषेयी हि सा । काशिका.

ĀLEKHYA NĀṬAKA — A NEW DRAMA !

Mr. D. R. Mankad, M. A. in "A Note on the Authorship of 'Svapnavāsavadattam'" in the last part (of Vol. IX) of the Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute finds in the passage वञ्छ — मंदमाहणी (P. 10) of the Kundamālā one reference to the Pratimānāṭaka attributed to Bhāsa. He remarks "This work is none else than the Pratimānāṭaka — one of these thirteen dramas — passing under the name of Bhāsa. Naturally therefore, we should say that the above passage refers to this drama. It would be idle to say that there must have been some older work, discussing this same subject and this drama is really, a later adaptation of it. *We cannot take things for granted only when it is convenient*..... And when we find that Kundamālā here has a clear and undeniable reference to Pratimānāṭaka, that evidence has already come forth. I therefore believe that the above expression does refer to the Pratimānāṭaka that we possess. Following the strain in which the author of the note argues, I would posit the existence of another drama by name Ālekhyā Nāṭaka. Kālidāsa in his Raghuvamśa says in the 14th canto

वाष्पायमाणो बलिमन्त्रिकेनमालेख्यशेषस्य पितुर्विवेश ॥

According to Mr. Mankad, the word मालेख्यशेष in this verse should be correctly interpreted only if it refers to a drama which may be styled — मालेख्यनाटक. Going a step further, Bhāsa was the greatest dramatist prior to Kālidāsa and probably the Ālekhyā-Nāṭaka was from the pen of Bhāsa himself.

Scholars may very well note the *reductio ad absurdum* in the above argument. There will be no end to arguments of the type indicated above and new works and new authors will be springing upon us at any stage. Every word of the Sanskrit Language would be indicative of some author or work. The author need only be reminded of his own remarks "we cannot take things for granted only when it is convenient".

T. R. CHINTAMANI.

1. The italics are mine.

THE DATE OF RATIKALLOLINI OF SĀMARĀJA DĪKṢITA

Samvat 1775 (= A. D. 1719)

Ratikallolini is a work on Kāmaśāstra ascribed to Sāmarāja Dīkṣita. Aufrecht makes no mention of this work in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. There are two MSS of this work in the Govt. MSS Library at the B O. R. Institute viz.

(1) No. 201 of 1902-07.

and (2) No. 642 of 1899-1915.

Neither of these MSS records the date when it was written. No. 642 of 1899-1915, however, states the date of composition of the work in the following verse at the close :—

जाणाहि पृथिवीधर इतिपाणी
वर्षे तथा माघष शुक्लपक्षे ।
व्याख्यादिमां दीक्षित सामराजो-
रत्यादिकल्लोलवर्ती रसेन ॥ ११ ॥

The chronogram in the first two lines gives the figures 5771 which, when read in the reverse order, give Samvat 1775 (= A. D. 1719) as the date of composition of the work.

In view of the above date the question arises whether this Sāmarāja Dīkṣita is the one, who wrote a work on *Alaṃkāra* called *शृङ्गाराद्युत्तलहरी*, the drama *श्रीदामचरित* and the *त्रिपुरसुन्दरीमानसपूजास्तोत्र*. Mr. S. K. De states¹ that this latter Sāmarāja (also called Śyāmarāja) was the son of नरहरिबिंदुपुरंदर and lived in Mathurā, where his descendants still flourish, at the latter part of the 17th Century. He wrote his drama *श्रीदामचरित* in 1681 A. D. for the Bundela Prince, Ānandarāya.² His son was कुमारराज grandson ब्रह्मराज, and great grandson जीवराज, the author of commentaries on the *रसमञ्जरी* and *रसतरङ्गिणी* of Bhānudatta.

The date of Ratikallolini viz. 1719 mentioned above does not conflict with the date of *श्रीदामचरित* viz. A. D. 1681 even though

1. *History of Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I. p. 320.

2. The introductory portion of the MS of *श्रीदामचरित* reads “ नरहरिबिंदुपुरंदरा दीक्षित सामराजेन आनंदरायराजनाय श्रीदामचरितं नाटकं स्वयं लिख्यते (!)

Miscellanea

we assume that both these works were written by one and the same author. We may reasonably assume that the work Ratikallolini might have been written at the close of the author's literary career. This assumption, however, needs more corroborative evidence for the following reason :—

The two MSS of Ratikallolini referred to above merely state that the work was written by Sāmarāja Dīkṣita.¹ There is no mention of the parentage of the author in both these MSS. On the contrary the MSS of श्रीदामचरित and गृङ्गारासुतलहरी make explicit mention² of the parentage of the author. In spite of this rather suspicious circumstance there is another factor which is in favour of the identity of authorship. The similarity of titles गृङ्गारासुतलहरी and रतिकल्लोलिनी appears to be more than accidental. In fact one suggests the other. It has been remarked above that the work Ratikallolini might have been written at the close of the author's literary career. I am inclined to think further the work गृङ्गारासुतलहरी must have been written prior to the writing of Ratikallolini.

Perhaps a detailed comparison and study of the works रतिकल्लोलिनी on the one hand and गृङ्गारासुतलहरी and श्रीदामचरित on the other hand may either prove or disprove conclusively the identity of authorship but it is not proposed to go into this question in this short note.

1. Colophon of No. 201 of 1902-07 reads :—

“इति श्री सामराजदीक्षितकृति कल्लोलिनी समाप्ता ”

Colophon of No. 642 of 1899-1915 reads :—

“इति श्रीमहोक्षितसामराजविरचिता रतिकल्लोलिनी समाप्ता ”

Both these MSS contain the following verse after the first verse :—

“एतन्कामिमनोयुति परिनोषाय तन्यते ।

विदुषा सामराजेन क्षतव्यममिह तद्दुषेः ॥

2. श्रीदामचरित reads नरहरिदीक्षितसुनुना दीक्षितसामराजेन etc. ”

गृङ्गारासुतलहरी contains the following sentences :—

Verse 2—“नरहरिर्बिदुषंदरं जनुषा विदुषाय सामराजेन ।

गृङ्गारासुतलहरी विरच्यते रसिकजीवानुः ।

Colophon—“इति श्रीमन्कविकुलतिलक नरहरिर्बिदुकुलावतंस श्रीसामराजदीक्षितविरचिता

गृङ्गारासुतलहरी समाप्ता ”

DATE OF BIJAPRABODHA

(A Commentary on Bhāskara's *Bijaganita* by Rāmakṛṣṇa, son of Lakṣmaṇa and grandson of Nṛsiṃha, of Amarāvati).

Aufrecht in his *Catalogus Catalogorum* refers to three *Mss* of *Bijaprabodha* viz. :

(1) Peters. I, 117, which is No. 120 of A 1882-83 of the Govt. MSS Library at the Bh. O. R. Institute.

(2) 10-1945—This is India Office Library MS No. 2832 (Eggeling) described on page 1013 of Part V of the Catalogue of that Library.

(3) Lz 964 (fr)—This is from the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the University Library (Leipzig 1901) by Aufrecht.

I am concerned here with No 1. This MS. was acquired by Peterson during 1882-83. It is dated Samvat 1744 or Śaka 1609 (A. D. 1688). The following lines appear in this MS. after a double red line which closes the contents of the MS including the Colophon :—

ग्रंथग्रथनावसरे ज्योतिर्विद्यद्वारामेण लिखितमिदं पुस्तकं । स्वपठनार्थं । तथेवं रामकृष्ण-
कृपया परोपकाराय श्रूयदिति ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ शिवमस्तु ॥

The handwriting of the above endorsement appears to be similar to that used in the entire MS. with the exception of that on folios 118, 119 and part of folio 120 which contains the colophon with the above endorsement. These folios with a different hand-writing might have been written by a friend or a pupil of the original writer viz. Yadurāma referred to in the endorsement. Further the fact that the copy belonged to Yadurāma is evidenced by another endorsement viz. "ज्योतिर्विद्यद्वारामस्येदं पुस्तकं ॥ " on the blank side of the last folio viz. 120. This endorsement has been crossed by a line possibly when the MS changed hands. As the endorsement indicates the ownership of the original writer of the MS it is natural that a subsequent owner of the MS should scratch out the original endorsement,

It appears from the following verse which is part of the colophon that Yadurāma was one of the friends of Rāmakṛṣṇa at whose suggestion the commentary Bijaprabodha was written. The verse runs thus:—

“श्री प्राणनाथयदुरामकुबेरमुख्ये ।
संप्रेरितः सृजनतंत्रविदां सुखार्थं ॥
बीजप्रबोधपरिचितनवर्तमाना ।
तेषां सदैव सुखसंपदुपेति वृद्धि ॥ २ ॥

The above facts induce me to believe that Yadurāma, a friend of Rāmakṛṣṇa, the author of Bijaprabodha, prepared during the period of composition of the work (ग्रंथग्रथनावसरे), a copy of the work for his own use. This enthusiasm was natural as he was one of the intimate friends of Rāmakṛṣṇa, who inspired (संप्रेरित) him to compose the Commentary. This copy prepared by and belonging to Yadurāma is dated Śamvat 1744 or Śaka 1609, which means that the time of Composition (ग्रंथग्रथनावसरे) of the Bijaprabodha is almost identical with Śamvat 1744 i. e. A. D. 1688.

P. K. GODE

REVIEWS AND BOOK-NOTICES

MAHĀVĪRACARITAM OF BHAVABHŪTI, edited with Critical Apparatus, Introduction and Notes by the late Pandit TODAR MALL, and revised and prepared for the press by Professor A. A. MACDONELL; published for the University of Punjab by the Oxford University Press, London: 1928. pp. liv+351; price 24 s. net.

A somewhat melancholy interest attaches itself to the publication of the present edition of the longest, least known and most difficult of the three plays of the famous Indian poet, Bhavabhūti. Pandit Todar Mall, the gifted young scholar who, after obtaining the M. A. degree of the Punjab University, went to Oxford and later to Bonn—to study the European methods of critical scholarship under such acknowledged masters as Professor Macdonell and Professor Jacobi, was unfortunately not spared to see his work in print; and the present edition might not have perhaps seen the light of the day at all, had not Professor Macdonell gone out of his way and most cheerfully taken upon himself the irksome and exacting task of preparing the Ms. of the edition for the press. While Sanskritists in general ought no doubt to feel grateful to the distinguished Emeritus Professor of Oxford for what he has done for the sake of his dear and departed disciple, the very circumstance attending the publication of the work somewhat disarms criticism, and the reviewer has therefore to confine his attention more or less exclusively to the merits of the performance, which fortunately are sufficient to counter-balance such deficiencies as some exacting critic may be inclined to detect therein.

This edition is based upon a careful collation of eighteen Mss. which the editor divides into two main recensions: the Southern (7 Mss.) giving Bhavabhūti's original version—with occasional later emendations by some critics—and the Northern (11 Mss.) giving the poet's own revised version at least as far as the end of Act V. The critical apparatus used by the editor has been presented in a concise and scholarly form, and it has led to the discovery of a third version of the play for the portion from V. 46

to the end of that Act. This is a distinct gain to scholarship, although one cannot help feeling that the editor should have afforded a critical evaluation of the three versions from the point of view of style and plot-construction. The most touchy spot therein was of course the Vāli episode, and the attempts made by the three versions (no less than by other dramatic writers) to circumvent the difficulty and efface that blot on Rāma's chivalrous career deserved to be made the subject of a special study.

The rest of the introduction discusses such topics as the time and works of the Poet, his style, and vocabulary, his knowledge of Metrics, *Alaṅkāra* and the *Prākṛits*, his relation to Kālidāsa and other writers, etc. Here the treatment is marked by a careful accumulation of facts and citations which we expect in every thorough and critical work. The Bibliography of Bhavabhūti's plays (pp. xlvii ff.) contains several glaring lacunae. It is not understood why in a list of translations of the *Uttararāmacarita* compiled presumably not before 1915, and in any case issued forth in 1928 by an editor who has made several attempts to bring the matter of the Introduction up to date, there should be no mention of the translation of the play in the Harvard Oriental Series.

In constituting his text the editor has, as he says, 'avoided the dangerous and unscientific principles of eclecticism' and has adhered generally to the readings of the best Mss. of the Northern Group. Under the circumstances one naturally expects that the variants will be presented separately under the two Groups, so as to enable the readers to see at a glance the nature and extent of the variations between the Groups. This he has not unfortunately done. For the most part the editor has not gone beyond the data of the Mss. We are in fact told that he made just 23 emendations, only 4 of which are at all material. It is to be wished that he had given exact references to all of them, as it becomes rather difficult to count them by the asterisks placed¹ on the top of the emended letters. One of them at least we have found, and that is अज्ञेय (page 114, line 6). The emendation is thus justified in the Notes, p. 251-- "Sītā here evidently refers to Rāma's consenting to her accompanying him."

¹ Not everywhere, we are afraid.

We should naturally then have the masculine word *ajjēṇa*." But would Sītā refer to Rāma as *ajjēṇa*? In the remaining five places in the whole play where she has occasion to refer to him she uses the word *ajjautta*, which alone is proper. The correct reading to which all the three Mss. point is *ajjūe*, referring to Kaikeyī. But apart from emendations, we cannot always agree with the editor in the choice of readings that he has made. For instance, in Act V, st. 11d, लज्जयन्ती न लज्जिता instead of वृषस्यन्ती न लज्जिता, given by Mt. Mg, 'the readings of which are decidedly superior to those of the Northern, though all the Mss. of this group are of a comparatively very recent date' (Introd., p. viii) The reading accepted is probably the result of an original mechanical error, and if all the Mss. of the Northern Group retain it, and if there be several other instances of the same kind, that would be a consideration important for settling the text tradition of the Northern Group. 'Very recent date' by itself is no ground for condemning any Mss. Again, in Act III, st. 43c he gives the unmetrical अतस्त्वा प्रति कोपनस्य तरलः शापोदकं दक्षिणः instead of आतस्त्वा प्रति etc. preserved by two Mss. and grammatically *not* impossible. In an Act where the poet makes a parade of out-of-the-way forms to exhibit his Shāstric learning, it is inconceivable that he would permit himself a metrical license, which even the most sympathetic critics of Bhavabhūti would have held up to ridicule.

In the absence of the 'complete and careful' English translation of the play which the Editor contemplated giving but which Prof. Macdonell has thought it fit to withhold on the ground that 'its inclusion in the book would be educationally harmful to the many *Indian* students likely to use it,' the 'Illustrative Notes' (pp. 217-277) have become diffuse in a few places and tantalizingly meagre in several others. We turn to an annotated edition of a Sanskrit play in the hope that some of the more obscure words and allusions upon which an average Sanskritist (be he Indian or European) is likely to stumble will find their explanation somewhere between its covers. That this is not always the case will become evident to any one attempting to

1 Italics are ours.

read, unaided, any ten pages of the text. To cite an example : in his note to p. 76, l. 10, the Editor remarks—"The similarity of construction with the other ablatives.....demand (sic!) my way of construction." But this "my" way becomes unintelligible in the absence of the translation. In fact the Editor confesses not to have clearly understood the purport of about a score of passages in the text that he has edited: viz. p. 27, l. 4, p. 41, l. 6, p. 41, l. 9, p. 67, l. 1, p. 74, l. 10, p. 135, l. 4, p. 147, l. 12, p. 159, l. 4 p. 185, l. 12, etc. In these cases at any rate no educational harm of any kind would have ensued if their translation had been embodied in the Notes.

That some of the "Notes" are defective and that the Editor might have modified them upon a second thought goes without saying. For instance the Editor might have corrected the note to p. 87, l. 8, where, following a modern commentator, Yogācāra is said to be a *disciple* of Buddha! But it is strange that the remark should have escaped the vigilance of Prof. Macdonell. It was also unexpected that there should have remained such an unusually large number of misprints in the book. A small selection of these (other than those given on p. vi¹) is given below—

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|---|--|
| p. 9 ⁹ — °द्वय for द्वयं ; | p. 221 ³ — āhūrya° for āhūryū° ; |
| p. 34 ⁷ — ह्येदि for ह्येदि ; | p. 245 ¹⁸ — kala for kūla ; |
| p. 70 ¹² — दप्यति for दृप्यति ; | p. 251 ³⁷ — aryaṃyū for āryayū ; |
| p. 78 ¹⁵ — मदेः for मेदः ; | p. 268 ⁴⁴ — sandhātam for san- |
| p. 101, n. 2, — द° for दण्ड° ; | dhātum ; |
| p. 154 ¹² — च त्रिकूटेन for चित्रकूटेन ; | p. 272 ⁴⁰ — nidhana for nidhanā ; |
| p. 169 — तीक्ष्णोऽसुखं for तीक्ष्णोऽसुखं ; | etc. etc. |

Nevertheless we feel no hesitation in saying that the edition under review is the best edition of the Mahāvīracarita now on the market. There are places in the play (e. g., I. 40d, I. 51d) to the interpretation of which the Editor has made real contribution by his judicious choice of readings. The Editor's choice of reading as well as his interpretation, has not, we feel, been quite happy in

1 Unhappily the Corrigenda requires another Corrigenda ; the last correction made should be °द्वय instead of °द्वय !

passages like I. 13b (कुशले: instead of च कुले¹) p. 147¹⁸ (°सङ्गलदसह्य° instead of °सङ्ग + लसत् + असह्य), p. 27⁴ (प्रमित=not limited, but of adequate or accordant measure), p. 67¹ (किं न क्षमे। यदि probably originally किं न क्षमेय यदि), p. 84⁶ (विजयेय instead of विजयेयं), etc. But it is safe to predict that if the young scholar who has been so prematurely taken away from us quite at the beginning of his career had had an opportunity of discussing his readings and interpretations with scholars in India, he would have produced an edition far more accurate and complete than the one now published.

Before concluding, the reviewer cannot help giving expression to an humble protest against Professor Macdonell's remark in the Preface that, prior to the appearance of the present edition, no Classical Sanskrit text had ever been so exhaustively prepared by an Indian scholar. Does the work of R. G. Bhandarkar, and Telang, and S. P. Pandit count for nothing in the eyes of the Emeritus Professor? In fact we doubt if Pandit Todar Mall himself would have, if he were alive, relished this excessive praise which Prof. Macdonell lavishes upon the work of his late pupil. At the end of his Preface the learned Professor expresses the hope that the edition which he has helped to bring posthumously into the light of the day may help to inaugurate in India "a new era, in which all the best classical texts will be edited anew by Indian scholars with a critical training in method, ensuring the production of texts that will furnish a sound basis for further research." We humbly wish to remind the late Balliol Professor that that "new era" has already dawned in India, and that he might have himself seen and felt its rays during his recent visits to India if he had at all cared to look around him.

S. K. B.

¹ That 'overwhelming Mss. evidence need not deter the editor from adopting a reading otherwise inevitable follows from the Editor's choice of *dūtyam* on p. 22, l. 6. Cf. however his inconsistent remark under p. 76, l. 1.

THE RĀMĀYANA—WHAT CAN IT TEACH US?—published by
the Vedic Ashram, Begampet, N. G. S. R. (iii+81) pp.
Price Rs. 0-8-0, 1927.

The author of this short pamphlet calls himself "ĀTMĀ" in the Preface. The pamphlet consists, besides the preliminary 16 pages, of two parts. Part I deals with the "Subjective Spiritual Experience" while part II treats of "Objective Spiritual Development". The author informs us in the Preface that the present pamphlet has been written as a "short ramble" and "diversion" from a dozen Vedic pamphlets and books already published by him since 1915. He remarks further that this work though it "appears to be based upon mere fancy" is "founded on fine facts of a firm unfictitious nature". Again in the same breath he contradicts himself and moves on the lower plane of fallibility and humility with the statement: "What we have written in this book is but in the nature of hints and suggestions." Finally the reader is implored not to judge hastily but to examine the position of the author critically. It is difficult to critically examine a work which is avowedly 'of the nature of hints and suggestions' and is based on "curious identifications" such as the derivation of the names of the two brothers *Romus* and *Romulus* from the Sanskrit word *Rāma* or the tracing of the Tibetan word 'Lama' to the Sanskrit word 'Rāma.' Mere similarity of names and myths in the literature of different countries of the world have never proved their common origin unless such similarity is based on other conclusive data both philological and historical, to which the pamphlet under review is a complete stranger. The method of interpretation used by the Author is found summed up in his own words. "Our fancy alone could not have given us all this beautiful result, had there been at bottom no real facts for the fancy to work and build upon." Such a method though 'sumptuous' in results is 'presumptuous' in the extreme. Consequently the work under review instead of being an interpretation of the Rāmāyana has become another Rāmāyana itself. According to the interpretation of the 'ĀTMĀ' the Rāmāyana teaches us "myth, allegory, legend, history and besides these Ideal Morality as well as Divine Spirituality." It teaches us "the very same all-sided and

harmonious culture of body, mind and soul which it is the purpose of the Veda also to teach mankind." The author has already told us that he has a dozen Vedic pamphlets to his credit and it is no wonder that being imbued with 'Vedic' culture he should unearth it from the Rāmāyana. We commend a more dispassionate method of interpretation to all lovers of the Rāmāyana.

Though we do not agree with either the allegorical method of interpretation or the results arrived at by the author by such a method we must admit that the pamphlet as a pamphlet written for the Vedic Ashram with the sole object of promulgating the Vedic Culture is well done and shows a practical hand. The style is more assertive than cautious. On the whole the pamphlet contains much amusing matter even for those who are not inclined in the 'critical' way.

P. K. G.

ASOKA (Gaekwad Lectures) by Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji
M. A., Ph. D., Professor and Head of the Department of
Indian History, Lucknow University. (Published by
Macmillan and Co. Ltd. London. Price 21s. net.).

Among the many kings of ancient India, Asoka stands prominently as a man and a ruler. Lack of materials and insufficient evidence forbid us from attempting to write biographies of monarchs who were themselves illustrious and did illustrious work for the welfare of the land which they governed. It is indeed refreshing to note that we have now materials available to reconstruct the biography of at least a few kings. To the historian who wants to make a special study of the great Maurya Asoka, there are now ample materials in the shape of rock cut inscriptions besides the multifarious legends and fables that have grown around the tradition of the history of this monarch. We cannot altogether afford to set aside tradition as transmitted in these legendary accounts. With the help of the traditional account supplemented by inscriptions, the history of Asoka has been written.

But this is not the first attempt of a biography of the great Maurya king. We have biographical sketches of Asoka by Dr. V. A. Smith, D. R. Bhandarkar and Macphail. Still Professor Mookerji felt the need of a convenient text book on the subject, and we have every reason to say that the learned Professor has succeeded in his attempt. The chapters on 'Administration,' 'Religion' and 'Monuments' are an interesting reading. Says Professor Mookerji "the government of India under Asoka was an absolute monarchy in the legal and political sense of the term." (p. 47), though he himself admits 'autocracy in India was much more limited in many directions than the autocracies of the West'. There then follows a learned discussion on the subject where he remarks truly, "The defects of democracy show that the problem of government cannot be solved by representative or electoral methods alone, but by the processes of organic growth which it can stimulate by encouraging all vital modes of association prevailing among the people concerned." This is largely true of ancient Hindu administration. To call

the Hindu monarchy centralised or autocratic has no leg. to stand on.

What is more difficult to understand is the religion which the Mauryan emperor followed. Professor Mookerji seems to take the view that Aśoka was Buddhist by religion, though the whole question of his religious faith has been discussed in a fruitful manner, still we are afraid we cannot take the view of Aśoka being a Buddhist as the last word on the subject. While in one place we learn that he enlarged to twice its size the stūpa of Koṣāgamana, the previous Buddha, in the other we know that he built for the sect of Ājīvikas three sets of cave dwellings in the Barabar hills of Bihar. The *dharma* of the Edicts so zealously propogated is not peculiar to Buddhism but is common to all faiths prevalent in his time. The principles of *Ahiṃsā* and toleration are equally Brahmanical, if we are going to draw a line of demarcation between Brahmanism and Buddhism. We would go further and say the doctrine of *Ahiṃsā* was sacred to the Jains more than to the Buddhists. Another evidence in favour of the theory that Aśoka was not a Buddhist is the repudiation of the theory of the so called monkhood of the king. The learned author is right when he interprets the term *Saṅgham Upagata* in M. R. E. I, to mean that the king became a kinsman of the Saṅgha (Śāsanadāyāda) and not a monk, (see p. 63 and especially the interesting footnote). From the very first the lay adherent formed an integral part of the Jaina organisation but this was not so in the case of the Buddhist order (see Dr. Hoernle's Presidential address, 1898, before the Asiatic Society of Bengal.) As the lay element received no formal sanction from the Buddhist order it is no strong argument to say that Aśoka was a Buddha, because he was an *upāsaka* or even *Śāsanadāyāda*.

The other learned chapter is on monuments where again the Professor shows considerable painstaking and scholarship. A number of stūpas and vihāras are associated by tradition with Aśoka. Archaeological evidence shows that he was a great builder of monolithic pillars of which only a few can be definitely ascribed to him. Dr. Mookerji supports the view that all pillars ascribed to Aśoka need not be ascribed *en bloc* to him (p. 87).

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar has suggested that several pillars—at least those without Aśoka's inscriptions were dedicated to cults other than the Bauddha (see his History of India, p. 64). It seems to be a correct estimate of Mr. Aiyangar that these pillars were imitations of the *dhvajastamba* of pre-Aśokan temples. This fact has been accepted by the learned author. For he says : " the raising of religious symbols for common reverence is a time-honoured Indian practice " (p. 99). Elsewhere (p. 62) he remarks that the four animals, the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse, and the Lion associated with his pillars are the symbols of different stages in the life of the Buddha. We are tempted to hazard a conjecture that the Pillars with the Bull and the Horse were pre-Aśokan, sacred to other cults than the Bauddha, and it may be that Aśoka's edict was engraved on them. That this was not impossible is evident from an important statement in the last of his Edicts (P. E. VII).—" This scripture of the Law, wheresoever pillars of stone or tables of stone exist, must there be recorded so that it may be everlasting."

The importance of the work under review lies moreover in the publication of the Aśokan texts and interpretation thereof, besides bringing together in the work illustrations of important Aśokan monuments. We commend this handy volume as a convenient text-book on the subject.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

ANCIENT JAFFNA, by MUDLIAR C. RASANAYAGAM of the Ceylon Civil Service ; with a foreword by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Madras University.

Thanks to the patient, careful and elaborate researches of Mudliar C. Rasanayagam, we have been able to get a connected history of the ancient island of Ceylon from very early times down to the advent of the Portuguese to that land. In point of materials, the book does not lack in any available source of information. Mr. Rasanayagam has based the early history of Jaffna or in broad sense Ceylon on tradition as exhibited in the Ceylonese literature. The *Mahāvamsa* and the *Vaipava Mālai* are largely quoted. But in examining tradition in the light of modern critical standards no efforts have been spared. But as the learned Professor who has contributed a foreword to this work has remarked sometimes the author has let his patriotism get the better of his judgment. Some instances have been pointed out. To them I may add only one. The words 'Deva-Nagari' and 'Nagarika,' the latter in the sense of 'civilised' have been derived, the author seems to entertain, from the expression 'Nāga.' His theory is that the original inhabitants of the land were Yakkhas and the Nāgas. He contends that the Nāgas had reached a high standard of civilisation even before the contact of Ceylon with South India or for the matter of that Aryan India. There are a lot of controversial points raised in the book. Some of the suggestions are interesting but are inconclusive for lack of definite data.

Most interesting chapters of the book are on the 'Foreign trade and intercourse' and 'Ancient civilisation.' Both would repay a careful perusal. There are evidences to show intercourse of Ceylon with the Hebrews, Phoenicians, Arabs, Romans, and with every part of the then known world. Ceylon was famous for her pearls, corn, chank and other valuable articles which were a rare commodity to the other parts of the world. In describing the ancient polity, the learned author has shown how it was hereditary monarchy, and how the ancients of Ceylon have advanced themselves very much in the art of war. Incidentally he seems to believe that air propelling machines - something like modern

aeroplanes, were not unknown to the ancient Ceylonese or to the South or North India. In dealing with ancient culture, he has assigned the due place to the woman in ancient Ceylon. How she was educated and was devoted to her husband are all brought out in a masterly way. In the last chapters Mr. Rasanayagam rapidly takes us century after century until the commencement of the seventeenth century. The one service which the author of this work has done is to bring valuable materials by collecting them systematically, and to throw a number of suggestions which are left to the more enthusiastic young band of scholars to work up and arrive at satisfactory conclusions. Throughout his able study of an intricate subject, as it will be naturally expected, he has drawn largely from Tamil literature, and South Indian inscriptions which have greatly enhanced the value of his excellent work. We commend it to every research student engaged in South Indian History.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

INDIAN AESTHETICS by K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B. A.
B. L. (published at Sri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam.
Price Rs. 2).

One of the few fascinating subjects which attract every Indian scholar, nay every Oriental scholar, is a critical study of the history of India's Art and Aesthetics. There are really speaking no books comprehensively treating this all important subject. A treatise on the subject of Indian Art and Aesthetics is by no means an easy task. One must be very well equipped before he would launch on the perilous ocean of India's art history. At the outset we congratulate the learned author of this very interesting little volume for his having wonderfully tackled such a technical subject, and at the same time presenting it to lay readers in his inimitable and musical style. Mr. Ramaswami Sastri is a deep scholar. He is a poet and an art critic himself. His study of Tagore's works, his books on *Hindu culture*, *Indian Womanhood*, *Bhagavadgītā* are too well known. Fully armed with all the necessary paraphernalia which a work of this kind requires, Mr. Sastri has successfully brought out a volume which is at once informing and instructive.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. While the first deals with the name of aesthetics in general the second and the third chapters deal with the differentia and history of Indian Aesthetics. In the fourth chapter the story of the Aesthetics is continued. Here is explained how Indian Aesthetical Doctrine has developed. He says "Art selects and fixes and refines the rarer and more radiant experiences and dreams of Beauty."... In Art and in art alone next to religion and philosophy is the world realised and expressed as a unity and as a harmony." Again "there is a hierarchy in art. Architecture and sculpture and painting are arts of repose and deal with space and appeal to the eye. Music and poetry are arts of movement and deal with time." "The dance arose as an art in the desire for the physical expression of emotions." "Creativeness is of the essence of Art." These elaborate quotations culled from different pages of the book show on what lines the learned author has worked his subject.

The later development of aesthetic doctrines in the direction of *Rasa* and *Dhvanu* is studied with a wealth of materials. In two chapters there is equally an able study of the fundamental concepts of Indian Rhetoric and Indian Dramaturgy. The last chapters of the book are the relation of Indian aesthetics to Indian Erotics, Arts, Metaphysics and Education. In handling these, he has not failed to omit even a single extant work on the subject. He has also made use largely of manuscripts available at the Tanjore palace library. He deplores the present state of education where we are fast forgetting the rich art treasures of the past and fervently appeals to endow chairs of Arts and Aesthetics in our universities, with which "we will be reborn again in beauty and bliss." The little volume is so packed with information that it will serve as a basis for future research students in Indian Art. We heartily recommend the work to every son of India. A bibliography and an index would have much enhanced the value of the work.

V. R. R. DIKSHITAR

Vol. XI

Part II

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Research Institutē, Poona**

Volume XI

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1930

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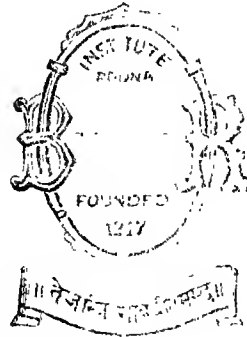
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[Part II

THE PLACE OF THE ĀRYASATYAS AND
PRATĪTYASAMUTPĀDA
IN HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA

BY

DR. NALINAKSHA DUTT, Ph. D. (Cal.), D. Litt. (Lond.)



An important point of difference between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, as pointed out by the *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*, is that according to the former, the realisation of the Four *Āryasatyas* (Noble Truths) and the *Pratītyasamutpāda* (Law of Causation) is of primary importance for the attainment of Nirvāṇa while, according to the latter, it is only of secondary importance. The main reason for this difference is that the Mahāyānists consider the real Nirvāṇa to be the realisation of *śūnyatā* (essencelessness) and *Tathatā* (thatness) or *Samatā* (sameness) of all things *Sarva-dharma*, and not what the Hīnayānists look upon as the attainment of Nirvāṇa, viz., the realisation of the essencelessness of all constituted things (*Pudgala-śūnyatā*) i. e. the absence of any permanently existing entity (*anātmanā*). The Mahāyānists hold that the *āryasatyas* and the *pratītyasamutpāda* are essential to the comprehension of *Pudgala-śūnyatā*, and so far the Hīnayānists are right ; but they cannot enable a being to realise *Dharmaśūnyatā*, the only gate to Nirvāṇa.

What are really the *Āryasatyas* and the *Pratītyasamutpāda*? The *Āryasatyas*, as commonly known, are, — *Duḥkha* (misery), *Samudaya* (origin of misery), *Nirodha* (cessation of misery), and *Mārga* (means of cessation of misery). Of these four, the second and the third include the *Pratītyasamutpāda*, which is, as is popularly known, a series of causes leading to the origination and disappearance of *duḥkha*

(misery).¹ The underlying teaching of these four truths is that they are to be treated as a formula for application to everything perceived. That these four truths constitute merely a formula and not a doctrine has been brought out very clearly in the *Majjhima Nikāya*² and the *Lalitavistāra*.³ In giving an exposition of what is the right view (*sammādiṭṭhi*) according to the Buddhists, Sāriputta takes up, for instance, *āhāra* (food), *dukkha* (misery), *jarāmaraṇa* (old age and death), *taṇhā* (desire), *nāmarūpa* (name and form) and *avijjā* (ignorance), and applies to each of them the fourfold formula examining it in this way: Take up for consideration a material or an immaterial thing. What is its origin? How does it decay? In pursuance of this method Sāriputta defines *Sammādiṭṭhi* through *āhāra*. He who knows *āhāra* (food), *āhārasamudaya* (how food originates), *āhāranirodha* (how food decays) and *āhāranirodhaḡaminīpaṭi-padā* (the way in which the decay of food happens) is said to possess *Sammādiṭṭhi*. The first truth relates to *Āhāra* which, in the Buddhist philosophy, is of four kinds.⁴ The second truth is *āhārasamudaya*, i. e. *āhāra* comes into existence on account of *taṇhā*⁵. The third truth is *āhāranirodha*, i. e., the ceasing of *āhāra* when the *taṇhā* is extinct. The fourth truth is the way in which *āhāra* ceases. It happens by the practice of the eightfold path, viz., *sammādiṭṭhi*, °*sankappa*, °*vācā*, etc. One who knows correctly these truths gets rid of hatred and attachment, rises above the belief in a self, drives out ignorance, and attains freedom from misery. So, we see that in these four truths there is nothing particularly Buddhistic. They are found in the Brahmanical systems of philosophy as well⁶. For instance

1 Whatever remarks will be applicable to the *Āryasatyas* will apply *mutatis mutandis* to the *Pratityasamutpāda*. The truth of *Magga*, as usual, refers to *Sammādiṭṭhi*, °*sankappa*, °*vācā*, °*kammanta*, °*ājīva*, °*vāyāma*, °*satī*, °*samādhi*. For *Mārgasatyas* see *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* (text), p. 13.

2 *Majjhima*, I, p. 261.

3 *Lal. Vis.*, p. 349; see also pp. 416-7, cf. *Mahāvastu* II, p. 285; III, p. 53.

4 *Digha*, III, pp. 228, 276; *Dhs.*, 71.3, *Vis M.*, p. 341.

5 *Taṇhā* (desire) is one of the links of the *Pratityasamutpāda* which is included in this exposition.

6 Prof. Stcherbatsky remarks; "These four topics—the four noble truths as the term has been very inadequately translated and represented as a fundamental principle of Buddhism—contain in reality no doctrine at all". *Con. of N.*, p. 55.

the *Yoga-sūtra* of Patañjali (II, 15) says: *Yathācikitsāsāstram caturvyūham rogo rogahetur ārogyam bhaiṣajyam iti evam idam api śāstram caturvyūham eva tad yathā saṃsārah saṃsārahetur mokṣo mokṣopāya eveti* (just as the science of medicine has four sections dealing with the diagnosis, cause and cure of diseases, and their remedies so also this science of spiritual healing has four sections dealing with an examination of the nature of the things, of the world, the cause of their origin, their removal and the factors that bring about the removal). The *Abhidharmakośa* also follows up this interpretation. It coalesces the four truths into two, viz., either cause and effect or *saṃsāra* (world) and *Nirvāṇa* (cessation). Thus *duḥkha* and *saṃudaya* relate to *saṃsāra*, and *nirodha* and *mārga* to *nirvāṇa*. *saṃsāra* (world) is the effect while *saṃudaya* is its cause: so also *Nirvāṇa* (cessation) is the effect while *mārga* is its cause.¹

This position of the Hinayanists with regard to the *Āryasatyas* is logical, for, their cardinal tenet is that a being suffers through wrongly assuming the existence of a self, thus conceiving himself as a separate entity and standing in some form of relation to every other being or thing of the world, to which also he ascribes an individuality similar to his own. The chief aim of Hinayāna teaching is to expel from one's mind all ideas of individuality, whether of himself or any other being or thing of the world, and this can only be effected by an examination of everything of this world under the four aspects mentioned above. Scrutinizing all things in this way, a being gets rid of his wrong assumption and sees things as they really are. This is called *Sammāditṭhu* (right view) or *Vijjā* (true knowledge). Once this is reached he can be said to have attained freedom from misery, or *Nirvāṇa*.

With regard to the *Āryasatyas*, the Mahāyānists stand on a completely different footing from that of the Hinayanists. Their cardinal tenet is *Dharmanairātmya* or the non-existence of everything perceived. All the things of the world have an existence

The reasons for the inclusion of the *Āryasatyas* and the *Pratītyasamutpāda* in the doctrines of Mahāyāna.

similar to the objects in a dream or a mirage. Thus, if everything be non-existent, the examination of a non-existent thing is absurd; hence the Mahāyānists should show reasons for including the *Āryasatyas* and the *Pratītyasamutpāda*.

1 *Kośa*, vi. 4, see also Sogen, *Sys. of B. Thought*, pp. 69 ff; *Sūtralakṣhāra* pp. 137-8 it supports the interpretation of the *Kośa*.

tītyasamutpāda in their doctrines. Nāgārjuna and Śāntideva, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, therefore, took up this challenge of the Hinayānists and showed by forcible and illuminating arguments that they were justified in including the Truths in their doctrines.

Nāgārjuna has dealt with the Truths¹ incidentally in his examination of *Pratyaya*, *Karmaphala*, *Ātmā*, etc. and at length in his treatment of the *Āryasatyas*.² He gives this summary of the arguments of his opponents: If everything be

non-existent (*śūnya*), there cannot arise any question about the origin and decay of a thing,—in this case, *duḥkha* (misery). The five constituents of beings which come into existence through pre-existing cause and conditions are called *duḥkha*, because they produce suffering, being subject to change and transformation. That these constituents are a source of suffering is realised by the *Āryas* (i. e. Arhats) only, and not by the common people, for the latter labour under the four misconceptions (*viparyāśas*)³ of considering impure things as pure, impermanent as permanent, unhappy as happy, and egoless as having ego. The common people are like the sick, to whom sweet things appear bitter. A person who is not yet an *arhat* (*anārya*) does not know that the five *upādānaskandhas* are a source of suffering. It is for this reason that the Truths (*satyas*) are called Truths for the perfect only. If everything be *śūnya* (non-existent), there cannot be the first *Āryasatya* called *duḥkha* and consequently there can be no *samudaya* (origin), *nirodha* (destruction), or *mārga* (means of destruction) of suffering. If the four *Āryasatyas* do not exist, there cannot exist true knowledge, exertion, or realisation, the four fruits of sanctification or their enjoyer, the *Saṅgha Dharma*, or even *Buddha*. The assertion of *śūnyatā* (non-existence of everything) goes against the existence of the three *ratnas*, in fact, of all things, good or bad.

1 *M. Vg.*, chs. I XVII, XVIII.

2 *Ibid.*, ch. XXIV.

3 *Bodhic.*, p. 375; *M. Vr.*, p. 464 & 507 referring to *Netti*, p. 114 and *Indes; śikṣā.*, p. 198; *Anguttara*, II, p. 52; *Yogasūtras*, I, 5; *Sarvadarśana* (ed. of Min. Vasudev Sastri Abhyankar, 1924) p. 361; see also *Infra.*

Nāgārjuna pities his opponents for their inability to grasp the true sense of *śūnyatā*, or his object of establishing *śūnyatā*, and also for their wrong imagination. The object of teaching *śūnyatā* is to bring about a complete cessa-

Nāgārjuna's arguments to meet charges made by the Hīnayānists.

tion of all *prapañca* (imagination looking upon unity as manifold). The view held by his opponents that *mokṣa*, (emancipation) is attained by the destruction of

action (*karma*) and passion (*kleśa*) is incorrect. It is a known fact that ordinarily persons are ignorant of the real state of things. They conceive *rūpa* (form), *vedanā* (feeling), etc., and allow passion, hatred and delusion to come into existence. From this statement as also from the *Sūtras*, it is evident that

(i) *Śūnyatā* is neither *maṃsā* nor *abhinava*

saṃkalpa (imagination) is the source of

all afflictions. From this it follows that

karma and *kleśa* are only products of

imagination and have no real existence. Their origin is due to the *prapañca* (thought-creation) which takes hold of the mind of a worldly being, who from the time immemorial is used to a variety of actions and things such as gain and loss, happiness and misery, action and the actor, known and the knower and so forth. All these worldly thought-creations cease to exist when a person realises the non-existence of the things which are commonly supposed to have real existence. Just as a person does not form any idea (*prapañca*) about the 'beauty of a barren woman's daughter' and consequently does not weave a net of fancies (*kalpanā*) around her, so also a Mahāyānist is not troubled with the conception of "I" and "Mine", the roots of a belief in self (*saṃkāyadrṣṭi*), nor is he troubled by any cause for the origin of afflictions. If a person realises that afflictions (*kleśas*) do not originate, he cannot have any idea of good or bad action and consequently, of birth, old age, disease and death. Therefore the *Yogins* (ascetics), established in *śūnyatā* do not conceive any real *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*, etc. and hence they have no *prapañca*, *vikalpa*, *saṃkāyadrṣṭi*, *kleśa*, *karma* or *mṛtyu*. Thus, the realisation of *śūnyatā* brings about the complete cessation of all *prapañcas*, and so it is said that the realisation of *śūnyatā* is the same as the realisation of *Nirvāṇa*.¹

Having dealt with the object of the teaching or *śūnyatā*, Nāgārjuna proceeds to an exposition of *śūnyatā* by stating its characteristic marks (*lakṣaṇas*),¹ which are as follows :—

(i) It is *aprapratyaya*, i. e. it cannot be imparted by one to another.² One is to realise within himself (*pratyātma-vedya*) the Truth, and not to understand it by listening to the instruction of *Āryas* (the Perfect) who can speak of the Truth only through superimpositions (*saṃrōpa*).

(ii) It is *sānta*, i. e. it has the nature of cessation.³

(iii) It is *prapañcāiraprapañcītam*, i. e. it is inexpressible.⁴ The first *prapañca* is taken as a synonym of speech (*vāk*),⁵ i. e. the sense of *śūnyatā* is not utterable by words.

(iv) It is *avikalpa* or unrealisable in concepts. *Vikalpa* is thought-construction; so *śūnyatā* is beyond (lit. devoid of) thought-construction. And, lastly,

(v) It is *anānūrttha* i. e. devoid of different meanings.

Thus he points out that *śūnyatā* is not to be taken in the sense of *nāstika* (nihilism) or *abhāva* (absence of something) as wrongly supposed by the Hinayānists. He continues his exposition of *śūnyatā* by equating it with the *pratītyasamutpāda* saying

yah pratītyasamutpādaḥ śūnyatām tām pracakṣamahe¹

sā prajñaptir upādāya pratīpat saiva madhyamā²

(We say that dependent origination is *śūnyatā*. It is in that sense that the path is middle). All phenomenal things are relatively existent, e. g. sprout and seed, *vijñānas* with reference to cause and condition, hence, Nāgārjuna says that things, which are only relatively existent, have in reality no origina-

1 *M. I*, pp. 372-7.

2 Prof. Stecherbatsky (*Con.*, of *N.*, p. 41) translates it as ' unrecognisable from without ' but the commentary of Candrakīrti does not seem to warrant the rendering.

3 See *M. Vr.*, p. 161 where it is shown why *sāntam* is taken in the sense of *śānta* or *śāntam*. The point is that anything having real existence cannot be subject to the causal law, so whatever is subject to causal law has no real existence, like the seed and the sprout. Hence both of them can be described as *sānta* or *śānta*. Prof. Stecherbatsky (*op. cit.*) uses the word " quiescent " for *śānta*.

4 Prof. Stecherbatsky (*op. cit.*) translates it " undifferentiated in words "

5 See *M. Vr.* p. 373.

6 *Ibid.*, P. 491.

tion, and the fact of this non-origination in reality is *śūnyatā*. So it is asserted by the Teacher in the *Anavataptahradupasaṃkramanīya-sūtra*¹ that whatever is said to have come into existence through cause and condition (i. e. relatively) is really unborn; it cannot have real origination; and whatever is subject to cause and condition is *śūnya*. The statement made in the *Līlākūvalāra* and elsewhere that all dharmas are *śūnya* (non-existent) refers to the non-origination of things in reality. It is in this sense that the connotation of *śūnyatā* has come into existence. Hence it is said that *śūnyatā*, which bears the sign of non-origination in reality, is the middle path. That which is really non-originated can neither be said to exist nor to vanish; hence is neither existent nor non-existent, and is therefore the Middle path, which keeps clear of the two extremes and is nothing but the non-originating *śūnyatā*.²

We may consider this topic in another way: There is nothing which originates without cause and condition and therefore there is nothing which can be called *aśūnya*³ (non-relative). It is said in the *Śāntaka* and elsewhere that nothing is ever produced without cause and condition, or, in other words, there is nothing eternal. The ignorant only conceive of eternity, etc., in regard to the *Ākāśa*. The wise know that all things are caused and conditioned, and they never fall into the delusion of either of the two extremes. If it be admitted, as is done by some of the Hinayānists that things (i. e. the elements that constitute a being) are uncaused and unconditioned, then the four *Āryasatyas* are contradicted, for how can there be *duḥkha*, the first truth, if things come into existence without cause and condition (*apratītya*)?

Nāgārjuna, thus establishing that *śūnyatā* is neither *nāstīva* nor *abhāva* but a word signifying the relative existence of things, says that the Hinayānist, too much engrossed in the studies of texts alone, have misunderstood the sense of *śūnyatā* and do not understand that the Teacher delivered his teachings in two ways, viz. conventional and real, or empirical and transcendental. So it is said by Nāgārjuna:

1 *M. Vr.*, p. 239

2 Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 359:

Na san lāsan na sadasan na capyanubhayātmanā
Catuṣkoṭivīnirmuktam tattvaṃ mādhyanikā viduḥ

3 Referring evidently to the Sarvāstivādin.

Dve satye samupāsṛitya buddhānām dharmadeśanā¹

Lokasamvṛtisatyam ca satyam ca paramārthataḥ¹ ||

(The teachings of Buddhas are based on two kinds of truth,—the truth of the world, and the truth in the highest sense). Nāgārjuna as well as Śāntideva

points out that the words in common

(ii) Buddha's teachings were delivered in two usage, e.g. *skandha*, *ātma*, *loka*, etc being enveloped (samvṛta,) on all sides are

(a) *Samvṛti*. called conventional. The expression

Samvṛti has three different senses, which are as follows:—

(i) *Samvṛti* is the same as ignorance on account of its completely enveloping the reality, or, in other words, it is identical with ignorance (*avidyā*).² In elucidation of this, *Projñākaramaṇi*, the commentator of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, says that ignorance superimposes a form on a non-existent thing and thus creates an obstacle to the correct view of the reality. In support of his statement he quotes from the *Āryaśūlīstambasūtra* a stanza, in which it is stated that ignorance (*avidyā*) is nothing but non-realisation (*apratipatti*) of the truth, and faith in falsehood.

(ii) *Samvṛti* implies a thing which depends on another for existence, i.e. subject to cause and condition,³ for a really self-existent thing cannot have origin and decay, or any kind of transformation; so whatever is caused and conditioned is *Sāmvṛta* (phenomenal).

(iii) *Samvṛti* refers to signs or words current in the world, i.e. accepted by the generality of people and based on direct perception.⁴ Śāntideva points out that *rūpa* (form), *śabda* (sound), etc. should not be supposed

1 *M. V.*, p. 492; *Bodhic.*, p. 361. The two kinds of Truth have been exhaustively dealt with in the *Mādhyamakavatāra* (chs. v & vi); see also *Le Muséon*, 1907, N.S. VIII for summary of ch. v.

2 *Bodhic.*, p. 352. *Samvṛtiyā āvṛiyate yathābhūtaparijñānaṃ avabhāvāvaraṇād avitaprakāśanāc cānayaṇī samvṛtiḥ. Avidyā moho viparyāsa iti paryāyāḥ.* (It is called *samvṛti* because it envelops the real knowledge and also because it helps to uncover that which is, as a matter of course, enveloped. It is synonymous with ignorance, delusion, or misconception.) For *Paramārtha* being the same as *Nirvāṇa*, see *infra*.

3 *Bodhic.*, p. 352: *pratityasamutpannam vasturūpaṃ samvṛtīr veyate.*

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 374-5: *pratyakṣaṃ api rūpādi prasiddhyā na paramā nataḥ.*

to be really existing on account of their being directly perceived by all in the same way. Their existence is substantiated by proofs which are valid from the worldly, and not from the transcendental standpoint. If all that is perceived by the senses be true, then a fool knows the truth, and there is no need of exertion for the acquisition of Truth. In support of his statement, he cites the illustration that the body of a woman, though impure in the highest sense, is regarded as pure by a man whose mind is swayed by attachment, hence a fact cannot be established merely by experience.

It may be argued that as the expressions like *dhātu*, and *āyatana* occur in the scriptures, they are real, and besides had they been non-existent, the Teacher would not have referred to them as momentary, subject to decay, etc. Śāntideva explains this away by saying that the Teacher used them only as artifices to lead men, having minds engrossed in thinking of object as existent, to the conception of *śūnyatā*, i. e. things are really non-existent. Whatever Buddha said about *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana* or their transitoriness is conventional and not real; hence the existence of *dhātus* and *āyatanas* in reality is not established. If it be held that every object of experience is unreal, how can we account for the experience of *kaṣṇikāta* (transitoriness) of *puṣpā* by the *yogins* (ascetics) who have perfected themselves in the meditation of *Puṣpānairātmya* (essencelessness of constituted things)? Śāntideva's answer is very simple. He says that even the experiences of *yogins* are not above *saṃvṛti*, for *saṃvṛti* included everything that falls within the scope of *buddhi* (intelligence), and the reality lies beyond it. The experience of the *yogins* that a woman's body is impure contradicts the experience of an ordinary man who considers it to be pure. Thus it is proved that the scriptural authority does not establish the reality of *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana*, etc.

All that has been said above applies to *loka-saṃvṛti* only, i. e. truths valid in the world of convention which are accepted as such by the generality of the people. There is, however, another kind of the so-called truth, which should be distinguished as *Alōka-saṃvṛti* i. e. truths not accepted by the generality of the people. The experiences of a man with diseased eyes or defective organs of sense are peculiar to the

man and are not true for all. Such experiences should be called *Aloka-samvṛti* (conventional truths but not general).

Śāntideva calls these two kinds of conventional truths *Tathya-samvṛti* and *Mithyā-samvṛti*, and distinguishes them thus: 'The *Tathya-samvṛti* (phenomenal truth) refers to things which originate out of a cause (*kaṃcit pratītya jātam*) and are perceived in the same way by all persons with unimpaired organs of sense, e. g. the colour blue, etc. The *Mithyā-samvṛti* refers to those things or statements which are accepted only by individuals and not universally, though they may have originated through cause and condition, i. e. they are like things perceived by a person with a defective organ of sense.

The Truth of the *Āryas*, who see things as they really are, is quite different from the two so-called truths mentioned above. Nāgārjuna says that this truth, *Paramārthasatya*, is identical with Nirvāṇa.² It does not admit of any distinction as subject and object.³ It is un-originating and undecaying, and as such it is not an object to be grasped by the mind. It is indeterminable by speech and unknowable by knowledge.⁴ Hence the highest truth is inexpressible and can be realised only within one's own self.⁵ It cannot form the subject matter of instruction, and hence it cannot be imparted by one to another. Śāntideva explains the truth (*tattva* or *paramārthasatya*) as beyond the range of *buddhi* (intellection or perception) while that which comes within the range of *buddhi* is conventional (*saṃvṛti*).⁶ According to him, the truth is attainable by giving up of all things which act as hindrances to knowledge, viz., impressions (*vāsanā*), connection (*anusandhi*) and passion (*kleśa*) through comprehension of the real nature of things. It is therefore the same as the non-existence of all

1 *Bodhic.*, p. 353.

2. See *ante*, p. 108; *saṃvṛti* is identified with *avidyā* and *buddhi*. See *Bodhic.*, pp. 352, 366, also Stecherbatsky, *op. cit.*, p. 164 n.

3 Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 366 *Paramārthasatyam sarvavyavahārasamatikṛāntam nirviśeṣam. Asamutpānnam aniruddham Abhidyāḥbhidhāna-jneyajñānavigatam.*

4 *M. Vṛ.*, pp. 364, 493

5 *B dhic.*, p. 367: *āryānām eva svasaṃvidita-svabhāvataḥ pratyā-tmavedyam.*

6 *Bodhic.*, p. 354.

dharmas and as such it may be taken as a synonym of *śūnyatā* (essencelessness), *tathatā* (thatness), *bhūtakoti* (true limit) and *dharmadhātu* (totality of things). What is caused and conditioned is not really existent, because some things undergo change with time, while in a really existent thing no change is possible; neither can the fact of coming and going be attributed to it. Things that are supposed to have existence are like an illusion or an echo, because they arise through cause and condition, and disappear when the cause and condition cease. So in reality, there can be no origination through cause and condition, because real origination does not depend upon and is not subject to something else. All things arise subject to some preceding causes and conditions; hence they are really non-existent. How then, can an existent thing be expected to arise out of them? Can anybody ascertain whence the illusory things produced by causes come and where they go? In this connection Śāntideva comments elaborately on the famous stanza of Nāgārjuna :

na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyāṃ nāpyaśetutaḥ |
utpannā jātu vidyante bhāvāḥ kvacana kecana ||¹

(Nowhere and never does a really existent thing originate out of a self or non-self or both self and non-self or without any cause).

The aim of Śāntideva and of the other Mahāyāna writers also is to assert that the real truth (*paramārthasatya*) is that things of this world have no more existence than the magic figures created by a magician. As these figures and their movements are taken as real by the ordinary people while the magician himself does not concern himself about their reality, so also in this world, the *viparyastā*s i. e. those whose vision is obscured and subject to error run after, or weave their thoughts around, the various phenomenal things, while the *yogī*, who knows the highest reality, does not pay heed to them. In short, the *Paramārthasatya* is nothing but the realisation of the dreamlike or echolike nature of the *Samvrtisatya*s.²

1 *Bodhic.*, p. 357; *M. Vr.*, p. 12.

2 *Bodhic.*, pp. 368, 379. The Satyasiddhi school introduced the two kinds of truth, *Vyavahārasatya* and *Paramārthasatya* into the Buddhist metaphysics. In the *Aksayamatīnirdeśasūtra* these two truths form the principal subject of discussion (Vardya, *Catuhṣatikā*, p. 19). In the Mahāyāna literature there are other expressions bearing the same sense as *Paramārtha* and *Samvrti*, e. g. *Nītārtha* and *Neyyārtha*, see *M. Vr.*, p. 41; V. Sastri, *I.H. Q.*, iv, 2 on *Saṃdhyā-bhāṣā*, *M. Vr.* pp. 41 *Sūtrā.*, p. 51

If *Paramārthasatya* be of an inexpressible nature and *Samvṛti satya* be non-existing like an illusion or echo as urged by Nāgārjuna and Śāntideva, a Hinayanist may enquire about the necessity of preaching on the topics like *skandha*, *dhātu āyatana*, *āryasatya*, *pralīyasamutpāda*, and, which are conventionally true but not true in the highest sense (*atattva*). The reply is

Vyavahāram anāsṛitya paramārtho na deśyate ।

Paramārtham anāgamyā nirvāṇam nādhigamyate. ¹ ॥

(The highest truth cannot be imparted without having recourse to conventional truths; and *nirvāṇa* cannot be attained without the realisation of the highest truth). In other words, the highest truth cannot be brought home directly to a mind, which normally does not rise above the conventional distinction of subject and object, knower and known; hence it must be imparted through conventional truths, and unless it is so imparted one cannot be expected to extricate himself from worldly limitations and arrive at *Nirvāṇa*. It is for this reason that the Mahāyānists cannot dispense with *saṃvṛti* topics like *dhātu*, *āyatana*, *āryasatya* and *pralīyasamutpāda*; they are like vessels to the seeker of water.

The other reason² for which the Mahāyānists cannot dispense with *saṃvṛti* topics is that the *Paramārthasatya* cannot be explained to another by signs or predicate, but yet it has to be explained. So the only alternative is to explain it by the negation of *saṃvṛti* matters. So it is said to be,

(i) *agocara* i. e. beyond the cognizance of *buddhi* (intellection):

(ii) *aviśaya* i. e. beyond the scope of knowledge:

(iii) *sarvaprapañcavinimukta* i. e. beyond the possibility of detailed descriptions:

(iv) *Kalpanāsamatikrānta* i. e. beyond every possible form of imagination, e. g. existence or non-existence, true or

¹ For *Paramārthika* and *Abhiprāyiki*, see *M. Vr.*, pp. 42 ff; *Sūtrā*, p. 138; Keith, *B. Phil.*, p. 235; *Journal Asiatique*, 1903, ii, p. 360 for reference and comments on *Samvṛti* and *Paramārtha*.

² 1. *M. Vr.*, p. 494; *Bodhic.*, p. 365; cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 372: *Upayabdhutam tyaṇatrasatyam upayabdhutam paramārthasatyam* (= also in the *Madhyaśākhāvatāra*, vi, 80). Also *Pāñcaviṃśati* (A.S.B. ms) leaf 48 a: Na ca Sūbhūte saṃskṛtavyatirekeṇa saṃskṛtam śakyam prajñāpayitum.

2 *Bodhic.*, p. 363

untrue, eternal or non-eternal, permanent, or impermanent, happy or unhappy, pure or impure, and so forth.¹ This being so, the only way to explain *paramārthasatya* to the people is through common place terms and illustrations. A person with diseased eyes sees a net of hair: he is corrected by another whose eyes are healthy, who negates the afflicted man's statement that there (really) is a net of hair. The man with healthy eyes does not indicate by such a negation that he is either denying or affirming something. Similarly, persons whose right vision is obstructed by ignorance conceive of the existence of *skandha*, *dhātu*, *āyatana* etc. which are in reality non-existent phenomenal forms. Buddhas like the persons with healthy eyes know this, and they cannot help saying that there are in reality no *skandhas*, *dhātus*, *āyatanas*, but thereby they neither deny nor affirm their existence. Therefore the highest truth cannot be preached without the help of the conventional truths. So it is said.

Anakṣarasya dharmaḥ śrutiḥ kā deśanā ca ka-
śrūyate deśyate cārthaḥ samāropād anakṣaraḥ² ॥

[How can there be hearing and preaching of *Dharma* which is unutterable (lit. cannot be articulated); it is by the superimposition of ideas on the reality which is inexpressible that the latter can be preached or heard].

If it be established that all mundane things are really non-existent, there is a probability of the *Paramārtha* (the highest truth) being conceived as nihilism. Nāgārjuna sounds a note of warning against such a conception by saying that *śūnyatā* should not be identified with the extinction of a thing which existed before. The question of extinction or nihilism does not arise, because the existence of something preceding is not admitted. Neither should it be regarded as something existing by having recourse to superimpositions. Those, who do not realise the real distinction between these two kinds of truth, fall into the error of either conceiving *śūnyatā* as the non-existence of *saṃskāras* (constituents of a being) or of assuming the existence of something as the basis of *śūnyatā*. Both are wrong views, and people of limited knowledge misunderstand *śūnyatā* as the one or the other. The distinction was, in fact,

1 *Bodhic.*, pp. 366-7 This list can be expanded to a great length. See *Bodhic.*, p. 367.

2 *Bodhic.*, p. 365; *M. V.*, p. 264, XV. 2; cf. *Lankā.*, p. 194.

so very subtle that even Buddha hesitated to preach the truth at first.¹

In concluding his argument, Nāgārjuna says that the Hinayānists by attributing the sense of *abhāva* (absence or non-existence after assuming the existence of something) to *śūnyatā*, fall into the error and fail to understand the standpoint of the Mahāyānists. The Mahāyānic conceptions of *śūnyatā*, i. e., that everything is non-existent fits in correctly with all *dharma*s and all statements, it is when *śūnyatā* is seen in this light that one can perceive the reasonableness of the formulae of Causal Law and the Four Truths, the fruits of sanctification, *saṅgha*, *dharma*, *buddha*, things worldly and transcendental, deeds right and wrong, a good or bad condition and other conventional matters. Nāgārjuna, having stated his position, attacks the Hinayānists for their inability to comprehend the correct sense of the Causal Law. He says that just as a rider, while riding may forget his horse and revile another for stealing it, so also the Hinayānists, because of their distracted mind, fail to grasp the truth that *śūnyatā* is the true sense and the chief characteristic of the Causal Law, and attack the Mahāyānists, the Śūnyatāvādins, for misinterpreting the Causal Law.

Nāgārjuna now proceeds to assail the position of his opponents. He says that those, who admit the reality of unconstituted things cannot logically support the *Āryasaṃyās* and the *Praṭītyasamutpāda*. It should be remembered that the Hinayānists apply the Causal Law to constituted things only. Nāgārjuna attempts to make the position of the Hinayānists untenable by asserting that the Causal Law should be universally applicable, and that there cannot be anything in the world which was excepted by Buddha as beyond its range of the Causal Law. Starting with this assumption, he argues that if things exist by themselves, they are not subject to causes and conditions, and such being the case there is no need to draw distinctions of external and internal, of causes and conditions, or the doer and

1 Buddhaghosa also uses this argument, see *Vis*, p. 508.

the doing of an action. In short, the Hinayānic theory contradicts the origin and decay as well as the fruits of sanctification. Hence, the position of the Hinayānists that things exist by themselves is untenable. It also contradicts the words of Buddha who said on many occasions: *apratītyasamutpanno dharmah kiñcin na vidyate* (there never exists anything which originated without cause and condition). This statement of Buddha, however, fits in with the definition of *sūnyatā* as given by the Mahāyānist.

If all things be existent (*aśūnya*) and if it originates without cause and condition, there cannot be anything impermanent and consequently no *duḥkha*.

Again, if *duḥkha* be taken as something existent then the truths of *samudaya* and *urodha* (origin and decay) of misery, and *nāṛya* (the eight-fold path leading to the decay of misery) are meaningless. Nāgārjuna thus pays back the Hinayānists in their own coin.

Then, with reference to the *parijñāna* (detailed knowledge) of the Hinayānists, Nāgārjuna shows that it is not logical to maintain that *duḥkha*, assuming it to be an existent thing, was unknown before, and that it is known subsequently because existent things remain always in the same condition (*svabhāva-samavasthitaḥ*) and never undergo any change. If an existent thing be not subject to change, it cannot be maintained that *duḥkha*, which was unknowable at first, was known later on. From this it follows that there is no *duḥkha-parijñāna* (knowledge of suffering). Consequently, *prahāṇa* (abandonment), *sākṣātkarṇa* (realisation), and *bhāvanā* (meditation) are meaningless.

As it is unreasonable to claim knowledge of *duḥkha*, which was formerly by nature unknowable, so it is wrong to assume the existence of the fruit of *Srotāpatti*, which did not exist before but was realised later on; and so with the other fruits of sanctification. The same reasoning—that which was by nature unattainable cannot be attained later on—is applied to show that there can be no one who enjoys these fruits, and consequently no *Saṅgha*. If there be not the *Āryasatyas*, there cannot be *Dharma*, and in the absence of *Dharma* and *Saṅgha* there cannot be a *Buddha*. If it be assumed that *Buddha* and *Bodhi* exist by themselves, then one remains without any

reference to the other. If *Buddhahood* be taken as already existing, a person, who by nature is a non-Buddha, can never attain *Bodhi*, however much he may practise the *Bodhisattva* duties, because a non-Buddha cannot be expected to change.

Nāgārjuna's point is that if a thing exists by itself then it is absurd to speak of it as created, having a creator, and so forth. Just as nobody speaks of uncovering the sky because the open sky exists by itself, so also nobody should say that a thing, existing by itself, has been performed or attained. In fact, the theory of *pratityasamutpanna* (one existing with reference to another i. e. relatively) must be admitted, as otherwise even the expressions of every-day usage such as 'go', 'do', 'cook', 'read', etc., become meaningless. If the world is supposed to exist by itself, the world would be unoriginating, undecaying and unchangeable as the self-existent is changeless. The world, according to the *Āstūnyavādins* (those who do not admit *śūnyatā*) would have no concern with the Causal Law and be beyond the possibility of diversity. Had the world been so, says the *Pilāputrasamāgama-sūtra*, it would not have been dealt with by Buddha, and the Teacher would have, as the *Hastikakṣya-sūtra* says, gone there with all his disciples.

Nāgārjuna concludes by saying that he who realises *Pratityasamutpāda* can rightly know the four truths and quotes a passage from the *Mañjuśrīpariṣecchā*, dealing with the Mahāyānic view of the four truths. It runs as follows:—he who realises that no *dharma*s have originated, has known *duḥkha*; he who realises the non-existence of all *dharma*s, has suppressed the source (*samudaya*) of misery; he, who realises that all *dharma*s are completely extinct (*parinirvṛta*), has comprehended the truth of *nirodha* (cessation), and he, who realises the means by which the absence of all things is known is said to have practised the path (*mārga*). This has been developed thus in the *Dhyāyitamustisūtra*. Unable to comprehend the four truths properly on account of being troubled by the four *viparyāsa*s (misconceptions), sentient beings cannot go beyond the world of transmigration. They conceive of *ātmā* (self) and *ātmīya* (things relating to a self) and thus have *karmābhisaṃ-*

skāra (actions).¹ Not knowing that all things are completely extinct (*parinirvāta*) they imagine the existence of themselves and others, and become engrossed therein to the extent of having affection, infatuation and ultimately delusion. They now perform actions, physically, verbally, and mentally, and after making some superimpositions of existing on non-existing things, they think that they are subject to affection, infatuation, and delusion. In order to get rid of them, they take ordination in the doctrines of Buddha, observe the precepts and hope to pass beyond the world and attain Nirvāna. They imagine that some things are good, some bad; some are to be rejected, some to be realised; that *duḥkha* is to be known, the *samudaya* of *duḥkha* to be given up; the *nirōdha* of *duḥkha* to be realised; and the *mārga* to be practised. They also imagine that all constituted things are impermanent and endeavour to pass beyond them. Thus imagining, they attain a mental state full of disgust (or contempt) for constituted things, having *animitta* (absence of sign or cause) as its preceding condition. They think that they have thus known *duḥkha*, i. e. the transitoriness of constituted things, become terrified by them, and shun their causes. Having imagined something as source (*samudaya*) of *duḥkha* they conceive of a cessation (*nirōdha*) of *duḥkha* and decide to follow the path (*mārga*) to attain it. They retire to a secluded place with the mind full of disgust and attain quietude (*śamatha*). Their minds are no longer moved by worldly things and they think that they have done all that is to be done, they are freed from all sufferings and have become *arhats*. But after death they find themselves reborn among the gods and in their minds exist doubts about Buddha and his knowledge. When they die again, they pass to hell because they doubt the existence of the Tathāgata after forming some misconceptions about all *dharma*s which are unoriginated. The four truths are therefore to be seen in the light of the *Mañjuśrīsūtra* as pointed out above.

The new point of view from which the *Āryasatya*s are looked at by Nāgārjuna appears in the *Prajñāpāramitā* in connection with the attempt to establish the conception of *śūnyatā*. The *Pañcaviṃśatī* thus defines the *Āryasatya*s:

1 Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 350: *Viparyāsa-anjñāno' satsattvasamūhorebhinī-
vesavaśād ātmatītyagrahapravṛtter yoniśomanasikāraprasuto nāgādi-
kleśagaṇaḥ sanuṣajjāyate. Tasmāt karma. Tato janaṇa, etc.*

2 *Pañcaviṃśatī Prajñāpāramitā*, pp. 43 f.

What is *dukkhasatyāvarāda*? A Bodhisattva while practising the *prajñāpāramitā* should not consider himself as attached or unattached (*yukta* or *ayukta*) to any one of the five *skandhas*, or to any organ of sense, or to their objects, or to the consciousness produced by the contact of the organs of sense with their respective objects, or to any of the four truths, twelve links of the chain of causation, eighteen kinds of *śūnyatā*, and so forth. He should not look upon anything as *rūpa*, *vedanā* etc., as connected or unconnected. This is called, according to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the sermon on the first truth *Duḥkha*. The underlying idea is that if a Bodhisattva thinks of himself as connected or unconnected with anything, which according to the *Prajñāpāramitā*, is non-existent or has only a conventional existence, then the Bodhisattva is subject to *duḥkha* (suffering); even if a Bodhisattva considers himself as having realised the truths or the causal law or *śūnyatā*, he would be subject to *duḥkha*, though, according to the Hinayānists, the Bodhisattva is to attain thereby *sukha* or *nirvāṇa*.

What is *samudayasatyāvarāda*? A Bodhisattva while practising *prajñāpāramitā* does not consider whether *rūpa* or any other *skandha* is subject to origination or destruction (*utpādhadharma* or *nir-dhadharma*), or to contamination or purification (*samkleśadharmā* or *vyavadāradharma*). He knows that *rūpa* does not convert (*samavasarati*) into *vedanā*, or *vedanā* into *saṃjñā*, and so forth; a *dharma*, in fact, on account of its nature being unreal (*prakṛti-śūnyatā*) cannot be converted into another *dharma*. Neither that which is *śūnyatā* (non-existence) of *rūpa*, is *rūpa* nor does the *śūnyatā* of *rūpa* take a *rūpa* (form); therefore *śūnyatā* is neither different from, nor identical with, *rūpa*, and in this way the other *skandhas* are treated. This is called the sermon on *samudaya*. The object of this discourse is to establish that the so-called things of the world have really no existence and hence there can be no origination, transformation or destruction, and so a Bodhisattva should remain unconcerned with the conception of *samudaya* of things.

What is *nirodhasatyāvarāda*? A Bodhisattva is to know that *śūnyatā* has no origin, decay, contamination, purification, decrease, increase, past, present, or future. In it, therefore, there can be no *rūpa*, *vedanā*, etc., no *duḥkha*, *samudaya*, etc. not even *śiṣṭāpanna*, *śukrāgāmi* or *Buddha*. This is called *nirodhasatyāvarāda*. This statement is meant to convey that *nirodha* is nothing but the realisation of the real nature of *śūnyatā*.

Arguing in this way *Prajñāpāramitā* shows that the truth is *sūnyatā*, i. e. the non-existence of the so-called things of the world, and this may be called the third truth, *nirodha*, while *duḥkha* consists in thinking of oneself as related in some way or other to the conventional things, and *samudaya* in believing that the origination of things does really happen. As the *mārga* has no place in this interpretation of the *āgamas*, the *Prajñāpāramitā* safely omits it.

Nāgārjuna, as we have seen, establishes by quotations from the Mahāyānic texts that Hinayānic Arhats labour under misconceptions. Of the four common misconceptions (*catvāryāśa*), they are not free from the fourth, viz., seeing ego in egoless things, thinking non-existent things as existent.¹ But this statement of Nāgārjuna or of the Mahāyānic texts with reference to the Hinayānists has in view the egolessness of things generally (*dharmasūnyatā*) and not merely of constituted things, with which the Hinayānists are concerned. Nāgārjuna ends his discourse by asserting that the truth is that all things are like echo, mirage, or images in dreams. When one realises this, he has neither love nor hatred for any being and with a mind like the sky, he does not know of any distinctions as Buddha, Dharma or Saṅgha and does not have doubts regarding anything. Being without doubt and without attachment, he attains *parinirvāṇa* without *upādāna*.

Śāntideva² also reasons in this way and says that a person's *avidyā*, the source of delusion, which comes about on account of the attribution of existence (*sat*) to non-existent things (*asat*) or ego (*ātmanā*) to egoless things (*anātmanā*), ceases to exist when he realises truly (*paramārthataḥ*) that things have only a dream-like or echo-like existence. On the cessation of *avidyā*, the other links of the chain of causation get no opportunity to arise, and hence the person obtains Nirodha.

1 Cf. *Bodhic.*, p. 350.

2 Cf. *Bodhic.*, pp. 350-1.

3 Śāntideva speaks of the chain of causation as consisting of three parts:

- (i) *Kleśakāraṇa-vidyā*, *trāsa* and *upādāna*;
- (ii) *karmākāraṇa-saṃskāra* and *bhava*; and
- (iii) *duḥkhakāraṇa*—all the remaining links of the chain.

The Mahāyānists, thus relegate the four Truths and the Causal Law to the domain of matters, conventional and not real, and assert that they are necessary in the doctrines of Mahāyāna inasmuch as they serve as a means for the guidance of living beings, who as individuals in this world, cannot but have their vision distorted or screened by ignorance.¹

Nāgārjuna, followed by Śāntideva, explains the position of the Mādhyamikas with regard to the Four Truths and the Causal Law. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and other writers on the Yogācāra system deal with this topic incidentally. Asaṅga, for instance,

The Yogācāra treatment of the Āryasatya and the Pratityasamutpada

refers to the Four Truths,² saying that the first two relate to the origin of the world or the happening of repeated births and the cause thereof, while the second two relate to the disappearance of things and the cause thereof. The first two need suppression while the second two need realisation. In connection with the fourteen ways of practising the *smṛtyupasthānas* (power of recollection) by Bodhisattvas, it is pointed out that one can enter, and also make others enter, into the four truths by means of the *smṛtyupasthānas*. Other *Yogācāra* writings, viz., the *Siddhi* and the *Laṅkāvatāra* do not specifically refer to the four truths but they deal with the doctrines of the Hinayānists for the sake of comparison and contrast. For instance, they speak of the Hinayānists as those who maintain the overt sense of Buddha's teachings and not their deeper meanings;³ being satisfied only by ascertaining the generic characteristics of things but never questioning about their

1 The commentator of *Bodhic*, (p. 362) in order to show that the four *Āryasatya*s are really two, says that *duḥkha*, *saṃudaya* and *mārga* should be classified under *saṃvṛti* and *nirodha* under *paramārtha*.

2 *Sūtrā*., pp. 137-8, 140-1.

3 *Laṅkā*., p. 14: *yathārutārthābhiniṣṭā*. For a description of the *rutārthagrahi*, see *Laṅkā*., pp. 154 f. 160 f. 197. 227. *Laṅkā*., p. 77 says "sūtrāntaḥ sarvasattvāśayadeśanārtthavyabhicāriṇi na sūtatvapratyavaca thānakathā (the discourses are not faithful expositions of the truth because they were preached according to the mental tendencies of beings.) For a remark like this, see: *M. Vr.*, *Sūtrā*., p. 51 : *alpaśrutatvaṃ nīrtārtha- sūtrāntāśravaṇāt*.

essential unreality.¹ They labour under the misconception (*parikalpanā*) of taking the three worlds as real, of postulating distinctions as subject and object, of assuming the existence of *skandhas* (constituents of beings), *dhātu* (organs of sense), *āyatana* (spheres of the organs of sense), *citta* (mind), *hetupratyaya* (cause and condition), *krīyāyoga* (action), *utpāda* (origin), *sthiti* (continuance), *bhaṅga* (dissolution), etc.² The *Laṅkāvatāra*³ speaking of *Pratītyasamutpāda*, says that it is by comprehending that things originate through cause and condition that one can get rid of the misconception of taking non-existent things as existent, and of assuming gradual or simultaneous origin of things. Then it explains as usual that the dependent origination happens in two ways, externally and internally, e.g. an earthen pot, butter, sprout etc. originate through an external cause (*hetu*)⁴ and condition (*pratyaya*), while ignorance (*avidyā*), desire (*iṣṣṇā*), action (*karma*), etc. originate through an internal cause and condition. The remarks of the *Yogācāra* writers indicate that the four truths and the causal law of the Hīnayānists belong to the domain of imagination (*parikalpanā*) and not to that of reality.

It should be remembered that though the *Yogācārins* are

The *Samvrtti* and *Parāmartha* of the *Mādhyamika*s replaced by *Parikalpita*; *Paratantra* and *Pariniṣpanna* of the *Yogācāras*.

sharply criticised by the *Mādhyamikas*⁵ for their conception of the eighth consciousness called *Ālaya-vijñāna* (or store-consciousness), both these schools of thought agree in holding that all things (*dharma*s) are non-existent, and

are without origin and decay,⁶ and that the highest truth is unutterable (*anākṣara*),⁷ is identical with Thatness and Uncha-

1 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 51, 63, 71, Yāḥ skandhadhātāvāyatana-svaskāṁśnyalakṣaṇaparījñānādhiḡame deśyamāṇe romāñcīnatanaḥ bhavati. Lakṣaṇaparīcayajñāne cāśya buddhiḥ praskandati na pratītyasamutpādaḥ nirbhāga-lakṣaṇaparīcaye.

2 *Laṅkā.*, pp. 42, 43, 825.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 82-3, 84, 140.

4 For six kinds of *hetu*, see *Laṅkā.*, p. 83.

5 *M. Vr.* p. 523 ;

6 *Triṣṭikā*, p. 41 : sarvadharmaḥ niḥsvabhavaḥ anutpannā aniruddhaḥ iti nirdeśyante.

7 Buddhas are silent (*mauna*) and never preach a word. *Laṅkā.*, pp. 16, 17, 144, 194.

ngeableness, possesses the signs of *anūyūha* and *niryūha* (non-taking and non-rejection) and is beyond every possible means of determination.¹ Passages like this can be multiplied from the Yogācāra works to show that their conception of the Reality apart from *Ālayavijñāna* is the same as that of the Mādhyamikas. They also hold with the Mādhyamikas² that from time immemorial, the mind has been under the delusion of imputing existence (*sat*) to non-existent things (*asat*), and that the Hinayanists were not able to rid their minds completely of the four *viparyāsas* (misconceptions)³ inasmuch as they meditated on *Pudgalanimitta* (individuality as basis) only and not on *Sarvadharmanimitta* (all things whatsoever as basis) and conceived of Nirvāṇa as something existent,⁴ full of peace and beyond misery. Their conception is that the highest truth, which they usually call *Pariniṣpanna* for the *Paramārtha* of the Mādhyamikas is the realisation of the fact that all dharmas perceptible to our mind have no more existence than the images in a dream or the reflection of the moon in water. But from time immemorial, our minds are so deluded that we cannot help perceiving in the images or reflection something existent, or in other words, with our common knowledge, we cannot rise above *parikalpanā* (imaginary existence), the *saṃvṛti* of the Mādhyamikas and others. The Yogācāras add a rider to the *Parikalpanā*, saying that it depends for origination on something else, and hence it is always *paratantra*, the *pralīyasamutpanna* of the Mādhyamikas and others. It is not necessary that the basis of a *parikalpanā* need be anything existent or real, e.g. a person may be frightened by an echo. In short, *Parikalpita* and *Paratantra* relate to phenomenal matters only, to the *anitya*, *unātma*, and *duḥkha* of the Hinayanists, while, *pariniṣpanna* relates to *Nirvāṇa*, the *Śānta*⁵ i.e. where all *klesas* and *vikalpas* cease.

Asaṅga brings out the relation of the three forms of truth thus: The highest truth (*paramārtha* or *pariniṣpanna*) is non-

1 *Lankā*, p. 196: Tathātvaṃ ananyathātvaṃ anūyūhaniryūhala-kṣaṇaṃ sarvaprapañcōpāśamaṃ; p. 73; śūnyatānutpādādvaya nirvāḥvalakṣaṇaṃ.

2 *M. Vr.*, ch. xxiv quoting Āryadhyāyita-muṣṭisūtra.

3 *Sūtra*, p. 169: Tatā catur viparyāsānugataṃ pudgalanimittaṃ vibhāvayan yogi śrāvakabodhiṃ pratyakabodhiṃ vā labhate. Sarva-dharmānimittaṃ vibhāvayan mahābodhiṃ.

4 *Lankā*, p. 72.

5 *Sūtra*, p. 149, cf. *M. Vr.*, chap. on Ātmā.

duality, which is shown in five ways. Two of these are that it is non-existing under the aspect of *parikalpita* and *paratantra* and not non-existing under the aspect of *pariniṣpanna*. It is not the same because the *parikalpita* and *paratantra* are not the same as *Pariniṣpanna*. It is not different, because the former two are not different from the latter.¹ In another connection Asaṅga says that a *Bodhisattva* can be truly called a *śūnyajñā* (one who knows the real nature of non-existence) when he understands it under three aspects, viz., first, that the non-existence means the absence of signs which are commonly attributed to an imaginary object (*parikalpita*), second, that the non-existence is the absence of any particular form of existence that one imagines it to be (*paratantra*), and third, that which is by nature non-existent (*pariniṣpanna*).² The *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*³ elucidates this point by saying that the nature of non-existence is of three kinds⁴ viz., (i) *lakṣaṇa-niḥsvabhāvatā* (non-existence of the signs commonly attributed to a thing, and hence of the thing itself, (i.e. *parikalpita*), (ii) *utpattiniḥsvabhāvatā* non-existence of a thing when considered from the standpoint of its origin, i.e. *paratantra*); and (iii) *paramārthanīḥsvabhāvatā* (non-existence of a thing in the highest sense, i.e. *pariniṣpanna*).

Sthiramati, in commenting on it, says that the first category *parikalpita* refers to the non-existence of things by its characteristics or signs. A thing cannot be conceived to exist unless it is accompanied by some characteristics, thus the sign of form is attributed to an object, or the sign of pain, pleasure etc. is attributed to a feeling. Endless things which people imagine, not excluding the *dharma*s attributed to a Buddha, have existence only in one's imagination, hence they are *parikalpita* i.e. have nothing corresponding to them in reality. The *Laṅkāvatāra* says that the *parikalpita* existence is inferred from signs⁵ (*nimitta*) and explains it thus: All dependently originating things are known by their *nimitta* (impressions)

1 *Ibid.*, p. 22: na san na cāsan na tathā na cānyatha, etc

2 *Sūtrā*, pp. 94-5.

3 *Siddhi*, pp. 39-42.

4 *Laṅkā*, p. 67.

5 Prof. Lévi translates *nimitta* by 'signs of connotation'.

and *lakṣaṇa* (characteristics)¹. Now, things, having *nimitta* and *lakṣaṇa* are of two kinds. Things known by *nimitta* only refer to things generally, internal and external, while things known by *nimittalakṣaṇa* refer to the knowledge of generic characteristics of things both internal and external.² Asaṅga³ distinguishes *parikalpita* into three kinds. They take as real (i) the basis (*nimitta* or *ālambana*) of one's thought constructions, (ii) the unconscious impressions (*vāsanā*) left by them upon one's mind, and (iii) the denominations (*artha*, *khyāti*) following the impressions.

The second category, *paratantra* refers to the imaginary existence pointed out above regarded from the aspect of its origin, i. e. all objects of feelings, which have existence only in imagination, and depend for origination on something else. Things as they appear are not the same as their origin or source; so it is said that the unreality of things is perceptible when they are viewed from the standpoint of their origin. Though the things, good, bad and indeterminate, or the three worlds (*dhātu*) or the mind and its various functions, have only imaginary existence, they arise, however, from causes and conditions, i. e. they depend for origin on others, and hence they cannot be said to exist really, because a real thing remains always the same and does not depend on cause and condition. The *Laṅkāvatāra* puts it very briefly: *yadūśrayālambanāt pravartate tat paratantra* (that which, proceeds from a basis is dependently originated or *paratantra*). Asaṅga analyses the *paratantra* in this way; the mark of being *paratantra* is the false thought-construction (*abhūtoparikalpa*). The thought-constructions create a subject (*grāhaka*) and an object (*g āhya*).

1 *Laṅkā*, pp. 224-6: five natures of existent things, (i) *nāma*, (ii) *nimitta*, (iii) *vikalpa*, (iv) *samyakjñāna*, and (v) *tathatā*. *Nāma* = *samjña*, *samketa*. Ignorant persons, deluded by various signs (*lakṣaṇa*) become attached to things as self or mine, and thus weave a net of thought-constructions around themselves.

Nimitta = The reflection (*ābhāsa*) of eye-consciousness known as form; so also the reflections of ear-consciousness, nose-c., tongue-c., body-c., mind-c., known as sound, smell, taste, touch and things are called *nimitta*. *Nimitta* is more or less a sign, impressed upon consciousness and *lakṣaṇa* is definition, or feature constituting a definition.

2 *Laṅkā*, p. 67; also pp. 150, 163.

3 *Sūtrā*, p. 64.

The third category, *pariniṣpanna*, refers to the *Paramārtha*¹ (the highest truth) or *Tathatā* (Thatness). Like *ākāśa* (space) it is of uniform nature (lit. has one taste-*ekarasa*), pure, and changeless. The *Pariniṣpanna-svabhāva* (absolute reality) is

called *paramārtha* because it is the highest aspect in which all dependently originated things are to be looked upon.

In this sense, it can be called also *dharmaṭā* (the nature of things), or in other words, it is the Absolute, immanent in the phenomenal world. The *Siddhi* points out that the *pariniṣpanna* (the Absolute) is so called because it is absolutely changeless. If it be compared with the *paratantra*, it may be said to be that *paratantra* which is always and ever completely devoid of the differentiations as subject and object, which are, in fact, the mere play of imagination, and hence absolutely non-existing. Thus, it follows that the *pariniṣpanna* is the same as the *paratantra* minus the *parikalpita*.²

It is clear from the discussions summarised above that the expressions *Paramārtha* and *Samvṛti* of the *Mādhyamikas*, and *Pariniṣpanna*, *Paratantra* and *Parikalpita* of the *Yogā-*

cāras are relative. The *paramārtha* of the one and the *pariniṣpanna* of the other indicate the Truth as conceived by them. Accepting that Truth is the only reality, they relegate everything else to the domain of unreality calling them conventional, *samvṛti* or *parikalpita*, with the reservation that the conventional things happen subject to causes and conditions, or in other words they conform to the law of causation, the *Pratītyasamulpāda* of the Buddhists in general, and the *Paratantra* of the *Yogācāras*. The *Hīnayānists* too utilise these expressions just as much as the *Mahāyānists* and they also call their Truth the only reality, *Paramārtha*, everything else being conventional, *sammuti*. Their Truth, in one word, is *anatta*, non-existence of any sub-

1 For seven different kinds of *Paramārtha*, see *Laṅkā*, p. 39.

2 This exposition is based on the *Siddhi*, pp. 39-42. Mañjū has utilised the Chinese version of this treatise, for which see his *Der individualistische Idealismus der Yogacara-schule*, pp. 40-43. For general discussion, see La Vallée Poussin, *E.R.E. sv. philosophy (Buddhist)*; L.D. Barnett, *The Path of Light (Wisdom of the East Series)*, p. 102; Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 235-236; Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 145, 146; Stecherbatky, *Conception of Nirevāna*, p. 33.

stantiality in the so-called things of the world, with the corollary that everything being *anatta* is impermanent (*anicca*) and misery (*dukkha*). Buddhaghosa¹ draws the distinction, saying that Buddhas use two kinds of speech, conventional and real. The expressions, *satta* (being), *puggalo* (person), *deva* (god), etc. are conventional, while those like *anicca* (impermanence), *dukkha* (misery), *anatta* (essentiality), *khandha* (aggregates), *dhātu* (organs of sense), *āyatana* (objects of senses), *satipaṭṭhāna* (practices of self-possession), *sammappadhāna* (right exertion), etc. were used in their true sense. Nāgassena explains that when Buddha said "I shall lead the *Saṅgha* or the *Saṅgha* is dependent on me"², he used the expressions "I" and "me" in the conventional and not in the real sense. Ledi Sadaṇṇa³ explains *sammuti-sacca* as those statements which are true by popular usage and are opposed to "inconsistency, and untruthfulness in speech" while *paramattha-sacca* are those which are established by the nature of the things and do not depend on opinion or usage. As an example he points out that when it is said "there is a soul", it is conventionally true but ultimately false,⁴ for the real ultimate truth is "there is no personal entity". The latter is true in all circumstances and conditions, and does not depend for its validity on usage or popular opinion.⁵ The contention of the Hinayanists is that a name is usually given to constituted things; that name is conventional e.g. when the wheels, frame, and other parts of a chariot are fitted up in a particular order, all the things taken together go by the name of a chariot. The term 'chariot' therefore depends on convention. If the constituted things, e.g. the chariot is divisible into various parts, it is no longer called a chariot when it is so divided. From this, it follows that the things, at which one ultimately arrives after repeated analysis, are the only real entities. They never undergo changes and they bear the same name at all times and places and under all conditions.

1 *Kev. Attakatha* pp. 33. 34.

2 *Milindapañha*, pp. 28, 60.

3 *J. P. T. S.*, 1914, pp. 129 f.

4 Cf. Stecherbatky, *Central Conception of Buddhism*; "Buddhism never denied the existence of a personality, or a soul, in the empirical sense; it only maintained that it was no ultimate reality."

5 See also Prof. Poussin's article in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1902, p. 250; *Points of the Controversy*, pp. 63 fn. 180.

So, according to the Hīnayānists, all the various ultimate elements, which constitute a being or thing, are real, and when reference is made to them they may be called ultimate truths or *paramattha sacca*; hence the *dhātus* or *āyatanas*, *satipaṭṭhanas* or *sammāppaḍhanas* are expressions used in the ultimate sense.

The *Kośa*¹ explains also the two truths in a slightly different way. It says that the things like jug and clothes, after they are destroyed, do no longer bear the same name, so also things like water and fire, when examined analytically, dissolve into some elements and are no longer called water or fire. Hence the things, which on analysis are found to be changing, are given names by convention. Such expressions, which convey ideas temporarily and not permanently, are called *Samvṛtisatya*s. The *Paramārthasatya*s are those expressions, which convey ideas, which remain unchanged whether the things are dissolved, analysed or not, e. g. *rūpa*; although one may reduce the *rūpa* into atoms, or withdraw from it taste and other qualities, the idea of the real nature of *rūpa* persists. In the same way one can speak of feeling (*vedanā*), therefore such expressions are *Paramārthasatya*s (ultimate truths).

But these ultimate truths of the Hīnayānists, we have seen, are relegated by the Mahāyānists to the domain of convention. Hence, what are real according to the Hīnayānists, namely the *Āryasatya*s and the *Pratītyasamutpāda* are unreal and matters of convention according to the Mahāyānists.

¹ *Kośa*, VI. 4.

INDIAN STUDIES

No. 1.

SLOW PROGRESS OF ISLAM POWER IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY

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Part II.



Soon after the middle of the tenth century, the fabric of the Gurjara empire showed signs of disintegration and began to develop ominous cracks and crevices threatening a complete collapse. Rājputānā and East Panjab declared independence under the Cāhamānas, Bombay Gurjarāt and Kāthiāwār under the Caulukyās or Solāṅkis, Mālwā under the Paramārs, and Gwālior and Bundelkhaṇḍ under the Candellas. Mathurā and the country east of the Jumna alone remained with the Pratihāras of Kanauj. Just at this time a Moslem power sprung up at Ghazna and was waxing mightily and quickly. The impending dissolution of the Gurjara empire offered a good opportunity for the renewal of Muhammadan aggression and aggrandisement. And Amir Sabuk-Tigin, founder of the Ghazna dynasty, undertook expeditions into India in the prosecution of holy wars. In the first expedition he found Jaipāl, the Hindu Śāhiya king, advanced as far as Lamghan and ready to fight. Their armies met and fought several days successively against each other, but without any decisive result. Thereupon the Amir ordered filth to be thrown into a clear fountain of water which was in a ravine close to where the infidels were encamped. The effect of it was that black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, hailstones fell from heaven accompanied by loud claps of thunder; a blast, calculated to shake trees from their roots, blew upon them, and thick black vapours formed around them so that they could not see the road by which they could fly.¹ It is rather difficult to perceive the significance of this extraordinary story about a supernatural phenomenon. But it has been shrewdly surmised by Sir H. Elliot that a snowstorm suddenly burst out, and not only harassed but totally paralysed the 'Hindus

1. H. M. Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 20.

who were unaccustomed to the cold and who consequently felt it as grievously as the Indian and British troops combined did, nine centuries afterwards, during the first Afghan War.'¹ It is therefore no wonder if the forces of Jaipāl sustained a grievous disaster. In his second expedition into India, however, Sabuk-Tigin had a well-pitched battle with Jaipāl and defeated him. This victory alone is worthy of mention. On the death of Amir Sabuk-Tigin, the throne of Ghazna was occupied after a short interval by his son Mahmūd whose fighting qualities were doubtless of a superior order and who resumed the prosecution of the holy wars to gratify the ruling passion of his life, namely, avarice. He undertook several plundering raids, regarding the exact number and dates of which there is yet no consensus of opinion among historians. Mahmūd, it appears, undertook an expedition generally once every year, leaving Ghazna and carrying on his raiding operations in the cold season. But our purpose here is to see what impression Mahmūd's raids produced on India and what Indian provinces they ended in annexing to his dominion. It is not therefore necessary to take into our consideration here, every one of the expeditions ascribed to him. We shall confine our attention just to those two or three which were the most important.

The sixth expedition of Mahmūd came off in H. 399 (=1009 A. D.), the account of which as given in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh* is the one that is generally followed by historians. But it is forgotten that this account not only is an exaggeration but contains misstatements. This is the case not only in regard to this account but also others. The author wrote his account centuries after the events recorded by him took place. Tradition, which in India is another name for fiction, was much at work and fabricated many new but unfounded incidents which got mixed up with real facts; and it is this amalgam of truth and fiction that passes for history in the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh*, at any rate so far as the earlier period is concerned. The events relating to this expedition fall under two main heads. We are told that in H. 399 Mahmūd collected his forces and determined to invade Hindustan and punish Ānandpāl, son of 'Jaipāl for the insolence he had shown in his previous raid of Multān.

1. *Ibid* p. 436.

Anandpāl, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rājās of Ujjain, Gwālior, Kālīñjar, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmēr¹ entered into a confederacy, and, collecting forces, advanced towards the Panjāb with a greater army than had ever taken the field against Amīr Sabuk-Tigin. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* no doubt gives this glowing description of the Hindu confederacy against Maḥmūd just to show against what fearful odds the latter had to fight. But this confederacy seems to be nothing but a myth. There is not even an oblique reference to it in the contemporary Muhammadan accounts and is not alluded to at all, for instance, by Al-'Utbi in his *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*, which contains a contemporary description of Maḥmūd's expedition. If Maḥmūd of Ghazna had really confronted and vanquished such a powerful confederacy, there would surely have been a long glowing description of his prowess in this contemporary history which was written by a secretary to the emperor himself. As it is, there is not even a remote reference to it, in the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī*. It thus seems that the confederacy is a mere figment of imagination. Again, if the Hindu chiefs had really wanted to form a confederacy to expel the *mlecchas*, as the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* leads us to suppose, they would have united under the leadership, not of a feudatory chieftain such as the Hindu Śāhiya was, but certainly of the king of Kanauj who was still the acknowledged suzerain, though he was no longer the power that he was originally. Besides, some of the Rājās who are reported to have formed the confederacy did not exist. Thus there was no Rājā of Gwālior, separate from the Rājā of Kālīñjar, about 1009 A. D., who could come with his contingent independently of the latter. Besides, there is no epigraphic or numismatic evidence to show that any royal family at this time ruled at Delhi. It is true that the Tomaras are connected with this place, but that statement is based upon a mere vague tradition. But perhaps the strangest constituent of this confederacy is the Rājā of Ajmēr. It is well-known that Ajmēr, or Ajayamēru as it is fully called,

1. John Briggs' Trans. of *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* (published by Cambray & Co.), Vol. I. p. 46.

was founded by the Cāhamāna king, Ajayadēva,¹ who, however, flourished between 1105 and 1139 A. D., that is, at least a century after this raid of Maḥmūd came off. Ajmēr² could not thus possibly have been in existence about 1009 A.D. when Maḥmūd attacked Anandpāl. The story of the confederacy formed by the Hindu Rājās to expel Maḥmūd from India as a sacred duty thus seems to be nothing but a myth which was concocted later to impart a sacred character to his intentions and glorify his valorous deeds. And even supposing for the moment that this confederacy was a historical fact, what sort of triumph did Maḥmūd gain over it? The Indians and Muhammadans, we are told, arrived in sight of each other on the plain of Peshāwar, where they remained encamped for forty days. The Indians were further joined by the Gakkhars in great strength. The Sultan perceived that on this occasion the idolators behaved most devotedly, and that it was necessary to be circumspect in striking the first blow. He therefore entrenched his camp in order that the infidels might not be able to penetrate therein. Maḥmūd, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to attack, and endeavour to draw, the enemy near to his entrenchments, where the Muhammadans were prepared to receive them. In spite of the Sultan's precautions, during the heat of the battle, 30,000 Gakkhars, with their heads and feet bare and armed with spears and other weapons, penetrated on the two sides into the Muhammadan lines, and forcing their way into the midst of the cavalry, they slaughtered in a few minutes three or four thousand Muhammadans. They carried their success so far that the Sultan, observing the fury of

1. *Jour. R. As. Soc.* 1913, p. 272.

2. It is possible, by a little overstraining, to say here that by 'Rājā of Ajmēr' the author of the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* meant the Cōhān princes, who in the time of Maḥmūd, no doubt, were Rājās of Sāmbhar but were in the time of the author known as Rājās of Ajmēr. When the Cōhān princes were thus called Rājās of Ajmēr, he did not mean, it may be contended, that Ajmēr was in existence in the time of Maḥmūd. All that he wanted to do was to refer to the Cōhāns, and he did so by referring to them by the title current in the author's time. This defence of the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*, if any such is at all adduced, is far-fetched. Besides, that its author really believed that Ajmēr was in existence in the time of Maḥmūd will be clear to anybody from his account of Maḥmūd's expedition against Somnāth (Vol. I. p. 69), where the town by its name has actually been mentioned as having been reduced.

these Gakkhar footmen, withdrew himself from the thick of the fight, that he might stop the battle for that day. But it so happened, says the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh*, that the elephant upon which Ānandpāl rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha-balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. The Hindus, adds the author of the *Tawārikh*, deeming this to be the signal for flight on the part of their general, all gave way, and fled.¹ So Maḥmūd achieved a victory over the Hindus, not in a fair open fight but rather through an accident, the accident of Ānandpāl's elephant taking fright and causing the belief in the minds of his people that that was the signal for a flight. Maḥmūd perhaps was not very proud of this victory, but he was certainly shrewd enough to take the fullest advantage of this favourable situation. His cavalry pursued the enemy for two days and nights, killing 8,000 Indians in the retreat, till he reached the fort of Bhimnagar or Nagarkot which has been identified with Kot Kangra. He attacked the garrison, reduced the fort, and carried off enormous booty. It is, however, worthy of note that the fort was defended by its garrison only and that no extraneous forces are reported to have come for its help.

It has been stated above that the account of the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh* has to be accepted with caution. Reasons have been pointed out to show why the mention of the formation of the Hindu confederacy was a fiction. If further proof is needed it is furnished, I think, by other details specified in the *Tawārikh*, which do not tally with those given by earlier accounts. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh* says that the battle was fought between Maḥmūd and Ānandpāl and on the plains of Peshāwar. The *Tūrikh-i-Yamīnī* of Al-'Utbi, however, which is an account contemporaneous with Maḥmūd, says that the battle came off at Wahind and was fought not between Maḥmūd and Ānandpāl but between Maḥmūd and Brahmapāl son of Ānandpāl. As Sir H. Elliot has pointed out, the river of Wahind, or the Indus was a more probable place of action than Peshāwar, as the latter was then within the Muhammadan border. This shows that we have to carefully scrutinize the account of the *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh* for this early period, before we accept it as history.

We shall now consider Maḥmūd's last raid, namely, that against Somnāth. It was the unparalleled success he achiev-

1. Elliot, Vol. II., p. 447.

ed in this expedition which is said to have raised him to the highest pinnacle of glory and fame. The account of this raid has been given by four or five Muhammadan historians. But even here we must remember that we have to be careful in giving credence to every one of their statements. The motive that prompted the author of *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtāh* was by no means absent in the case of these Muhammadan historians also. There was every desire to exaggerate the importance of the victory of Maḥmūd and belittle the bravery of his Indian adversaries. We will now give a short description of this expedition based on, first, the account of Ibn Asir¹ (A.D. 1060-1229). It begins with the description of the idol called Somnāth and the wealth, pomp and religious importance of his temple. We will pass it over as it is of no consequence to us for our present purpose. When Maḥmūd, we are told, was gaining victories and demolishing idols in North India, the Hindus said Somnāth was displeased with them, otherwise no one could have destroyed or injured them. When Maḥmūd heard this, he resolved on making a campaign to destroy Somnāth, believing that when the Hindus saw their prayers and imprecations to be false and futile, they would embrace his faith. So he prayed to the Almighty for aid, and with thirty thousand horses, besides volunteers left Ghazna in H. 414 = A.D. 1024. He took the road to Multān, from whence the road to India was through a barren desert. So he collected provisions for the passage, and he started for Anḥilvādā. After he had crossed the desert he came to a fort which he invested and brought under the sway of Islam. His men carried away water with them from there and marched for Anḥilvādā whose chief called Bhīma fled hastily to a certain fort for safety in order to prepare himself for war. Maḥmūd pushed on for Somnāth through a desert where there was little water. From the desert he marched to Dabalwarah apparently Delvādā near Ūṇā, two days journey from Somnāth. Maḥmūd took and plundered the place, and marched to Somnāth. The story of the pillage and desecration is too well known to require any repetition here. No Musalman account, however, tells us what kind of soldiers and how many of them defended the place. In the absence of these important details it is impossible to form an estimate of the bravery of Maḥmūd and his troops. It is true that his arrival at Anḥilvādā frightened

1. Ibid., p. 468 & ff.

the Solanki chief Bhīma who forthwith abandoned his city. What appears to have happened is that Maḥmūd's march from Ghazna to Multān and from Multān to Anhilvādā was so sudden and was of such lightning speed that Bhīma was completely taken by surprise. The Muhammadan account tells us distinctly that Bhīma fled hastily, not to save himself in an imbecile manner from the onslaught of Maḥmūd, but certainly to prepare himself for war. It is true that the very fact that Maḥmūd marched with the speed of lightning bespeaks highly of his generalship and proficiency in military tactics. And it is no doubt equally true that it is this unique trait of generalship that gave him victory after victory. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Maḥmūd never had an open fight with the Rājputs of Rājputānā and Gujarāt when he passed through these territories; possibly he never wanted to measure his strength against any one of them. This appears to be clear from the fact notified in *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* that when Maḥmūd resolved upon returning home from Somnāth, he learnt that Parama Deva, one of the greatest Rājās of Hindustan, was preparing to intercept him, but that the Sultan, not deeming it advisable to contend with this chief, went towards Multān through Sind.¹ This Parama Deva seems in all likelihood to have been the Paramāra king of Abū who could effectively block the Ajmer-Gujarāt route. The prospect of confronting and receiving an almost sure and crushing defeat from this Paramāra chief most probably impelled him to face what he thought to be the lesser danger of passing through the Sind desert. We know what happened to his army during his march through Sind. His men suffered miserably in some places from scarcity of water and in others for want of forage. And Firishtāh tells us that many of his troops died raging mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. After enduring these extreme hardships Maḥmūd at last arrived at Ghazna in H. 417 = A.D. 1026.

It has been remarked above that the accounts given by the Muhammadan historians of Maḥmūd's expedition are not sober history from beginning to end, but contain in not a few

1. Ibid., pp. 473-4. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishtah*, however, says: "Intelligence being now received, that Brahma Dew and the Raja of Ajmeer, with others, had collected a great army in the desert to oppose his return, Mahmood determined to march direct by the route of Sind to Mooltan" (Vol. I. p. 78.).

places exaggerated descriptions of his bravery and glory. If any instance of such fiction intermixed with history is required in the case of the raid on Somnāth, we have only to refer to and examine the various accounts given, for instance, of Somnāth. Thus the *Kāmilu-t-Tawārikh* of Ibn Asir speaks of Somnāth as an idol. Maḥmūd, we are told, seized it, part of which he burned and part he carried away with him to Ghazna, where he used it as a step at the entrance of the Jāmi Masjid. Firishtāh also gives us to understand that Somnāth was an idol. The *Tūrikh-i- Alf* also says the same thing namely, that Somnāth was an idol out of solid stone and that Maḥmūd broke it into pieces with his battle axe. When he was about to destroy the idol, Brāhman represented that if he desisted from the mutilation, they would pay several crores. But Maḥmūd replied: "I know this, but I desire that on the day of resurrection I should be summoned with the words, 'Where is that Maḥmūd who broke the greatest of the heathen idols?' rather than by these; 'Where is that Maḥmūd who sold the greatest of the idols to the infidels?'" When Maḥmūd demolished the image, he found in it so many superb jewels and rubies that they amounted to and even exceeded a hundred times the value of the ransom offered by the Brāhman. These are the embellishments of the story which are fiction and not history, and have already been commented upon by some English historians. In the first place, was Somnāth an idol at all as described by these Musalman writers? In all Hindu accounts it has been called a Līnga, and not an idol; and even Al Bērūni, a contemporary of Maḥmūd, knew it to be such. Similarly, Al Bērūni tells us that the top of the Līnga was garnished with precious stones and with gold. The mention of rubies and pearls hidden in the Līnga is thus nothing but a pure invention, as was first pointed out by Wilson, "The earlier Muhammadan writers" remarks Wilson "say nothing of the mutilation of its features, for, in fact, it had none; nothing of the treasures it contained which, as it was solid, could not have been within it."¹

That the Muhammadan accounts of Maḥmūd's raids are confusing and unreliable may also be shown in another way. Kalhana in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* has given a vivid description of the campaign which Maḥmūd waged against Trilocanapāla and which ended in the total destruc-

1. Elliot, Vol. II. p. 476.

tion of the Hindu Śāhiya dynasty. Kalhana's narrative is supported by Al Bērūni who tells us that it was under Trilocanapāla that the Śāhiya kingdom succumbed to the Muhammadans under Maḥmūd. But curiously enough, no lucid account has been given by any Muhammadan historian of this campaign, though it was of such momentous importance from the Muslim point of view. In annotating this passage from the *Rājataranginī*, Sir Aurel Stein,¹ its editor and translator, is therefore compelled to admit that the discrepancy which the Muhammadan accounts show as to the chronology and the topographical details of Maḥmūd's expeditions does not permit us to identify with certainty the campaign to which Kalhana's narrative relates.

It will be seen that the accounts we possess of Maḥmūd's expeditions are inaccurate and confusing. It is, indeed, strange, very strange, that the Muhammadan authorities consider them to be twelve in number, but that when they actually record them *seriatim*, they enumerate not twelve, but fifteen or sixteen. The European historians, too, following them, curiously mention them as twelve, but record fifteen or sixteen. Sir H. Elliot, who first went deeper into the subject, computed them to be seventeen. But even this computation does not help us to identify as we have just seen the campaign of Maḥmūd which has been described by Kalhana as completely subversive of the Hindu Śāhiya power and which was thus of paramount importance to the history of Islam. Most of these accounts, again, contain an admixture of fiction or exaggeration which is not found in the contemporary histories and which is evidently concocted to unduly glorify his exploits. In these circumstances it is very difficult to frame an accurate estimate of Maḥmūd as a conqueror. It is true that he undertook a good many expeditions of conquest against India, though their exact number cannot be determined, and that every time except perhaps once his march was triumphant and unimpeded. But then we have to note that the Pratihāra supremacy which had made the guarding of the frontiers an imperial concern was at this time being shattered to pieces and that there was thus a complete lack of organisation. This was a supreme opportunity for Maḥmūd who seized it with alacrity and utilised it to his fullest advantage. If the Pratihāra imper-

1. *Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmir*, Vol. I. p. 271, n.

ialism had continued what it was half a century ago, it is very doubtful whether he would have been able to penetrate into India even once. It cannot, however, be denied that Maḥmūd was a first-rate general. Most of his victories were due to the lightning speed with which he marched against his adversaries before they had time to prepare themselves. This was no doubt a special feature of his tactics which was rendered possible by his nimble cavalry and for which he deserves every credit. He was also a great fighter. He defeated princes of the Hindu Śāhiya and Candella families. But it should not be forgotten that he avoided meeting in an open and fair battle the Paramāra king of Ābū when the latter was prepared to confront him, but went back to Ghazna from Somnāth by the Sind route, whereby he and his army suffered the worst miseries. Even here Maḥmūd, it may be said, deserves some praise, because he undertook nothing that was impossible and never struck an enemy unless he was sure of overpowering him. He was thus a wonderful blending of daring and caution. Such a man could certainly flourish in environments where there was a complete lack of organisation if not an organised anarchy, and he was lucky that when he lived, the fabric of Pratihāra imperialism was being snapped to pieces. But if we want to gauge his work as a conqueror, we must ask what permanent result was produced by his expeditions so far as India was concerned. So far as we can see, they ended only in overthrowing the Hindu Śāhiya power and annexing merely Western Panjab to the Muhammadan dominions. A very poor result indeed! To Maḥmūd of Ghazna, they say, belongs the credit of his being the first Muslim Emperor, and to him more than to any one else the rise of 'monarchy' among the Mussalmans is due. If this is really the case, it is a pity that he let a golden opportunity slip for carving an empire out of India. From the popular Muslim point of view, the subjugation of the infidel's territory was more pious than the conquest of a Muhammadan country. And here was a splendid opportunity presented to Maḥmūd, as the edifice of the Pratihāra empire was at that time collapsing. And the wonder of it is that he did not, perhaps could not, conquer the greater portion of Northern India and make himself master of at least the Pratihāra dominions, if he had in him the vision of an empire with which he is credited. As it was, his invasions were not real expeditions of conquest, but ended in being mere raids of sack and pillage.

Things settled down rapidly after 1024 A. D. It has been mentioned above that the mighty Gurjara empire about the close of the tenth century was split up into a number of kingdoms. That consisting of East Panjab and Rājputānā was seized by the Cāhamānas with their capitals at Sāmbhar and Ajmer. That part of the Middle Country which corresponds to the United Provinces was ruled over by the Gāhaḍavāla family under Candradeva from Kanauj or Benares. It was these two kingdoms which were now exposed to the depredations of the neighbouring Muhammadan states. It is true that we hear so little of them from the Muhammadan authorities, but the inscriptions of these dynasties leave no doubt on this point. If we take first the records of the Gāhaḍavāla family, we find a distinct mention of Gōvindacandra having defeated Hammīra when he was Yuvarāja,¹ that is, certainly before A. D. 1114. Nay, there seems to have been another Muhammadan incursion in his time, that is, when he was king. The Moslem invaders this time came as far east as Benares, his capital, but were effectively repulsed by him.² What is, however, specially noteworthy in connection with the copper-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavāla princes is that among the taxes which they levied is included one called *Turuṣka-danḍa* which seems to have been a tax on the Muhammadans. The exact nature of this tax cannot be determined, but it seems to be a sort of land-tax imposed by the Gāhaḍavāla kings on the Muhammadan settlers in their dominions.³ There can be no doubt that some Muhammadans had been settled in the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom. Thus the *Kāmilu-t-Tawārīkh* of Ibn Asir⁴ informs us that there were many Musalmans settled in that country since the days of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It is possible that these Hindu rulers levied this *Turuṣka-*

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 16, 1, 9.

2. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 321.

3. Dr. Hiranand Sastri combats this view (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII. p. 296), but I agree with Prof. Sten Konow (*Ibid.*, Vol. IX. p. 321) because if it was something like the Danegeld of England levied for raising what was a price for the cessation of the Muslim ravages, it is inexplicable why it was discontinued by Jayacandra. Secondly, it was the Cāhamāna dominions which actually touched the Muhammadan territory and which consequently were more exposed to their inroads than the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom, but we do not find this tax levied in the Cāhamāna dominions where its necessity was greater.

4. *Elliot*, Vol. II. p. 251.

danḍa from the Moslems by way of retaliation for the *Jizya* which the latter must have exacted from the Hindus of that part of the Punjab that was now subject to their rule. The point that specially deserves to be noticed here is that this poll-tax seems to have been abolished by Jayacandra, the last Gāhāḍavāla prince, because there is no mention of *Turuṣka-danḍa* in any one of his copper-plate grants. The reason of this abolition it is not difficult to surmise. There was a great misunderstanding in his time between the Cāhamāna, and the Gāhāḍavāla House, on account of Rai Pithorā's daring abduction of Jayacandra's daughter. Hostilities between the Cāhamānas and the Moslem rulers had also increased about this time. And Jayacandra must therefore have tried to make friends with the latter in order to encompass the ruin of the former. And, as a matter of fact, we know that when Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ghur threatened India with an invasion, all the kings of North India joined Prthvirāja III., but Jayacandra held himself aloof. He had a definite purpose in view, which was ultimately served by the destruction of the Cāhamāna supremacy by the Muhammadans.

We may now direct our attention to the Cāhamāna records and try to find out what light they throw upon the fights of this Rajput family with the frontier Muhammadan rulers. Of these records perhaps the most valuable is the *Prthvirāja-vijaya*,¹ which describes the exploits of the Cāhamāna princes of Sāmbhar in general and of the last Prthvirāja in particular. The last portion of this work is unfortunately missing, but what has been preserved is enough for our purpose. So far as we can see, it was Durlabharāja II. of this dynasty who first came into conflict with these foreigners. He lived about 1075 A. D., and is represented to have been killed in a battle with the Mātāṅgas or Musalmans. Things were, however, better when one of his descendants, Arṇōrāja, was on the throne in the second quarter of the twelfth century. For he is credited with having destroyed a Muhammadan army and constructed a lake on the scene of this action to purify the place polluted by the shedding of the Mleccha blood. This lake is undoubtedly the Ānāsāgar called after him, and is still a

1. Two fasciculi of the poem have been printed by the Beng. As. Society. A summary of it was published, first by Mr. J. Morrison in the *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. VII. pp. 188-92 and afterwards by Mr. Harvilas Sarda in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1913, p. 262 & ff.

beautiful site of Ajmēr. Arṇōrāja was followed by his son Vighraharāja (IV.), *alias* Viśaladēva who is represented in a Delhi pillar inscription of A.D. 1164 to have brought the whole of North India under his sway and to have made it an Āryāvarta or Abode of Āryans again, by exterminating the Mlecchas or the Muhammadans¹. Further information on this point is furnished by a drama called *Lalita-Vighraharāja* by his court poet Sōmēśvara.² It was originally engraved on a series of slate stone slabs, and was put up for exhibition and study in the college and shrine of Sarasvatī which he had erected at Ajmēr but which was afterwards converted into a mosque known as *Dhāi dīr-kā jhūmpdā*. This drama describes one of the defeats he inflicted on a Muhammadan ruler called Hammira or Turuṣkeśvara. Only a few fragments of this play have been preserved, but they are enough to show under what adverse circumstances, Vighraharāja had to give battle to this enemy. The Cāhamāna king was then encamped at Vavvēraka, the same as Vavēra, by which Rūpnagar in the Kishangarh State was known before it was so named after Rūpsimha of the Kishangarh House³. One fragment of the drama introduces us to a scene where the king sees a spy sent to procure details of the Muhammadan force that was advancing. The spy informs him that the horses, elephants and soldiers which comprised the enemy's army were so many that it was impossible to frame even an approximate estimate and that they were then stationed just one *yojana* or perhaps nine miles from Vavvēraka. Consternation seizes the mind of the Cāhamāna king, who at once calls his maternal uncle Rājā Simhabala and his Brāhman prime-minister Śrīdhara. The whole information given by the spy is placed before them, and they are asked to give advice as to the course of action that was best in the circumstances. Simhabala advises him to give battle, but Śrīdhara tries to dissuade him from this decision as the Cāhamāna forces would be hopelessly outnumbered by those of the enemy. The king, however, decides in favour of the line of action suggested by Simhabala. No fragment of this play has been preserved which tells us what the issue of this battle actually was. But there can be no doubt on this question. The Cāhamāna king must have vanquished the

1. *Ibid. Ant. Vol. XIX, p. 219.*

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XX. p. 207 & ff.

3. *Ibid.*, 1912, p. 182.

enemy completely. Otherwise, there would not have been even a remote allusion to this incident, which on the contrary has been mentioned most prominently here. What we have to note is that the Cāhamāna ruler gave fight to the Muhammadan forces though he was fully conscious of the fact that they were more than a match to his army, so far, of course, as the numbers were concerned and that it is utter recklessness of life and superior fighting qualities that must have won him the day.

Vigraharāja was succeeded by his nephew, Prṭhvirāja II., one of whose records was originally found at Hānsī in the Hissar District, Panjāb. It says that he had a maternal uncle, called Kilhaṇa, a Guhilōt by clan, who had been put in command of the fort of Asī or Hānsī, to arrest the advance of Hammīra or the Muhammadan emperor, who had become a thorn to the world.¹ We are also informed that Kilhaṇa had seized and burned Pañcapura, the same as the modern 'Pachapattan' on the Sutlej which, as Tod tells us, was on the route from Kabul to Hānsī. The strategic importance of Pañcapura and also Hānsī can scarcely be over rated so far as the Cāhamāna kingdom was concerned. And it seems that the Cāhamāna monarchy was effectively fortifying the north-west frontiers of its territory against Muhammadan aggression which had been on the increase since the time of Durlabharāja. These precautions produced some salutary effect for some time. For certainly we do not hear of any Muhammadan expedition during the reign of this king or even of his successor Sōmēśvara.

Things were, however, different in the time of Prṭhvirāja III., who succeeded his father Sōmēśvara to the Cāhamāna throne. When Sōmēśvara died, Prṭhvirāja was a child. And his mother had been appointed regent to look after the affairs of the state. This was a fresh opportunity to the Muhammadans to renew their policy of aggression. Reference has already been made to a work called the *Prṭhvirāja-vijaya*, which contains a full account of the life and career of Prṭhvirāja. But only a page or two of it have survived, and that gives us the information that the beef-eating Mleccha called Ghori, who captured Garjanī (Ghazni), had dispatched an envoy to the Cāhamāna court. It further informs

1. *Ibid.*, 1912, pp. 17-8.

us that it was this Ghorī whose soldiers had occupied Nādōla- (Nādōl), but that they had been put to a rout by the Gujarāt king without the Cāhamāna ruler having to take any action in the matter. This is a clear reference to the expedition of Shihābu-d-Dīn Muhammad Ghūr in 1178 A. D. when, after marching to Uchhā and Multān and crossing the desert of Mārwar, he invaded Gujarāt without entering the Cāhamāna territory. The king of Gujarāt at this time was the Solanki prince Bhīmadēva II., who defeated the Muhammadans with great slaughter at Kāsahrada (Kāyadrā) at the foot of Mount Abū, being aided by the Nādōl chief Kēlhaṇa and his brother Kīrtipāla and also by the Paramāra chief Dhārāvāsa of Candrāvati.¹ The Muhammadan defeat was so crushing that Shihābu-d-Dīn was himself badly wounded in this fight and had to beat a hasty retreat. This is another clear instance, if any further instance is needed, of the frontier Muhammadan rulers sustaining a heavy defeat at the hands of the Rājput princes, when the latter were prepared for a battle.

The ignominious defeat made such a deep impression on the mind of Shihābu-d-Dīn that it was not till 1191 A. D. that he again thought of invading India. About this time a sad misunderstanding had arisen between the Cāhamāna and Gāhāḍavāla families. This presented a good opportunity to the Moslem ruler to undertake another expedition. Prthvirāja was not dead to the danger that now threatened India. He solicited the kings of North India to join his confederacy, and they all did except, of course, Jayasandra. Shihābu-d-Dīn encountered Prthvirāja and his allies at Tarain or Talawari between Karnal and Thanēsar. The battle ended in a brilliant victory for Prthvirāja, and a complete rout of the Moslem army. The enemy was severely wounded, and had to run again for his life. Then followed a state of inaction and inertness on the part of the Rājputs which is astounding to a degree. Instead of following up their victory by mercilessly pursuing and driving the foreigners out of India, they were self-complacent and remained where they were. Shihābu-d-Dīn retired quietly to Ghor, and after thirteen months returned with a mighty force to the former scene of action. Putting the Hindu army off their guard with a false pretence, the foreign invader fell upon them under cover of night. The Rājputs, unprepared though they were, fought with great valour, and

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI. pp. 71-3.

towards sunset seemed to be even on the point of gaining the day, when Shihābu-d-Dīn charged them at the head of a chosen body of horsemen which had been purposely left behind and which at once turned the tide of the battle. Pṛthvirāja was taken alive and murdered in cold blood. Thus was laid down the foundation stone of the fabric of Muhammadan supremacy in India. If Jayacandra of Kanauj and Benaras really played the traitor to his country, he soon atoned for it, for in 1194 Shihābu-d-Dīn defeated and killed him also and annexed his kingdom. India was divided into numerous independent states at this time and hence within six years of the second battle of Tarain, the whole of Northern India was conquered by Shihābu-d-Dīn.

When the power of the Imperial Gurjaras had been established over Northern India, the north-west boundary of the empire, we have seen, was the natural frontier of India formed by the Safed Koh and Sulaiman ranges. One of the feudatory families of the Gurjara period was the Hindu Śāhiyas who occupied the frontier province and whose territory, we know, included the Kābul Valley. The guarding of the north-west frontier was thus an imperial problem, and it was solved by the Hindu Śāhiyas effectively barring for centuries the advance of the Islam Powers. And it is when the Gurjara empire breaks up that Sabuk-Tigin and Mahmūd of Ghazna make their appearance in the political horizon of India, and undertake several expeditions which end in the destruction of the Hindu Śāhiya rule and the annexation of the greater portion of the Panjāb. By this time the commotion and confusion caused by the downfall of the Gurjara supremacy settled down into some order, and two Rajpūt dynasties rose to prominence with conterminous territories. It was, however, the Cāhamāna territory which touched the Muslim dominions and was more constantly exposed to their raids and depredations. The problem of arresting the Muhammadan aggression had thus become very acute, for the Panjāb which consists mostly of plains could not possibly form the the natural boundary to any Rajpūt State and offer any barrier to the foreign incursions. Besides, these were two different Rajpūt States, and they had naturally different aspirations and different policies to carry out. They could not bear any comparison to the Imperial Gurjara rule which had only one object in view and only one foreign policy to maintain. In

spite of this disadvantage the two Rajpūt dynasties succeeded in repelling the attacks of the Muhammadans for more than a century and a half. And the question arises what could be the cause of this strange phenomenon? The only answer is: Rajpūt bravery, which is, as a rule, notoriously reckless-reckless of life and reckless of any plan of action. We have seen from the *Lalita Vighraharāja* how the Cāhamāna king Vighraharāja *alias* Visaladeva was impatient to fall upon a Muhammadan army although it was much larger than his and although he was being dissuaded by his Brāhman prime-minister from embarking upon such a fool-hardy project. But no amount of persuasion could produce any effect on him. He pounced upon the Muhammadan forces, and it was by good luck, no doubt aided by Rajpūt bravery, that he was successful in his venture. It is this reckless Rajpūt bravery that explains why, in almost all battles which were well-pitched and fought to the end, the Rajpūts, as a rule, triumphed over the Muhammadan foreigners; and if the latter at any time triumphed, the victory was due generally to an accident. Thus when Amir Sabuk-Tigin gained a victory over Jaipāl, it was in consequence of the snow-storm which burst out all of a sudden and paralysed the Hindus who were unaccustomed to rigorous cold. Similarly, when Sabuk-Tigin's son, Maḥmūd of Ghazna achieves a victory over Anandpāl son of Jaipāl, it was due to the mere accident of Anandpāl's elephant running away through fright and creating the belief in the minds of his soldiers that that was a signal to them for flight. But when Maḥmūd attacked and pillaged Somnāth and learnt that the route by which he came was being guarded by certain Rajpūt chiefs who wanted to give him battle, he returned to Ghazna, not by this route, but *via* Sind, although his army thereby suffered from the worst of privations and hardships. Likewise, in 1178 A.D. when Shihābu-d-Dīn Ghūr invaded Gujarāt, the Solanki king Bhūmadēva, aided by the Sonigarā and Paramāra chiefs, inflicted a crushing defeat on him at the foot of Mount Abū and made him flee for life. Thirteen years later, that is, 1191 in A.D., the Muhammadan emperor returned with a larger army; and this time he met the Rajpūts under Prthvirāja at Tarain, and we know, with what result. This time too when the Rajpūts were face to face with the Muhammadan foreigners, the latter sustained an ignominious defeat and their leader Shihāb-ud-Dīn had again to fly for his life. This defeat of the enemy was no doubt caused by the

bravery of the Rajpūts, who in fighting were reckless of their life and therefore almost always vanquished their Muhammadan opponents in open well-pitched battles. But the battle of Tarain gives us an insight into another trait of Rajpūt character. The Rajpūts were not only indifferent to their life but also indifferent to improving and strengthening any position of advantage they might have gained through their bravery. Perhaps they did not possess the same amount of brain-power in the art of warfare that their Muhammadan rivals were endowed with. When Shihābu-d-Dīn's army was routed and he himself was running for his life, why did not Prthvirāja track his enemy and drive him out of India which he could easily have done? Would Maḥmūd of Ghazna, for instance, have failed to take full advantage of such a unique opportunity? But the Rajpūt mentality was of a different mould. It was not only reckless of life but also indifferent to pursuing a victory to its fullest advantage. This was a weakness which emanated from an overweening confidence in their bravery, or perhaps from mental apathy caused by opium eating. Instances of this indifference are not wanting from later Rajpūt history, and this alone can satisfactorily explain why they were inactive and indifferent to pursuing their enemy after the first battle of Tarain and reaping the fullest advantage of their victory. And we know what disastrous consequence this indifference produced. It laid the foundation stone of the Islam power in India and changed the whole history of the country. Nevertheless, be it noted that Shihābu-d-Dīn Mu'izzu-d-Dīn Muhammad ibn Sām, who laid this foundation stone, allowed himself to be guided by the exigencies of the state only, not by the policy of iconomachy but of iconolatry, because we know he struck gold, silver and copper coins where not only his name appears in Nāgarī character alone but above all we find actual representations of the Hindu deities, either a seated figure of Lakṣmī or the Bull of Śiva.¹

It will thus be seen that the Muhammadan first began to penetrate into and overrun India under the Arabs in 712 A. D. But they did not obtain any firm footing till 1191 A. D. when Shihābu-d Dīn defeated and killed Prthvirāja in the second

1. *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* by H. Nelson Wright, Vol. II. p. 5.

battle of Tarain. For four centuries and a half the Rajpūts held the Muhammadans at bay. The Muhammadans were all along making incursions into India and trying to establish an Islam empire over the country. They allowed no opportunity to slip unutilised when there was a political upheaval in Northern India. Nevertheless, the Rajpūts proved a most effective barrier to Muhammadan aggrandisement for upwards of four centuries and a half. In fact, such a thing is unprecedented in the history of early Islam, where we notice the Muhammadans carrying everything before them and making themselves masters of the whole globe between Sind and Southern Spain within eighty years of their Prophet's death. No impartial historian will therefore refrain from holding that it was probably the most glorious period of the Rajpūt history in India. To say, therefore, as V. A. Smith has done, that the Muhammadan invaders were doubtless superior to their Hindu opponents in fighting power, because they came from a cool climate in hilly regions and were heavier and physically stronger and also because they were flesh-eaters whereas the Hindus were mostly vegetarians and that their fierce fanaticism helped them immensely as it developed into all kinds of frightfulness is something which is altogether inexplicable in the light of the facts of history such as we have passed under review. If there was anything that offered a successful resistance to the Muhammadan aggression, it was Rajput bravery against which the cool climate of the hilly regions, the physical strength and flesh-eating propensities of the Muhammadans were of no avail. Even their fanaticism which undoubtedly showed its frightfulness all over Western Asia, North Africa and South Europe did not help the Muhammadans at all for four centuries and a half to penetrate into India and gain a stable footing. And very often this fanaticism had to yield to diplomacy such as we see when Shihābu-d-Dīn issued coins with Nāgarī legends and with Hindu icons to stabilise his rule in India or when the Arabs of Multān preserved the idol of Sūrya which was an object of veneration to the Hindus of the surrounding regions not only to make it a fertile source of revenue but also to use it as a weapon by threatening to destroy it whenever they were being overpowered and vanquished by their Hindu neighbours. Nor is there much force in the third cause of Moslem success on which V. A. Smith has laid stress. Hindu strategy and tactics, says he, were old-fashioned. They placed excessive

reliance on their elephants which, however, proved useless against well-equipped active cavalry of the Muhammadans. At the close of the last part, it was pointed out that the Gurjara cavalry was by no means inferior and that it elicited admiration even from the Muhammadan travellers who came into Northern India. And from the fact that the Cāṣamāna and the Solanki kings from time to time repulsed the Moslem attacks most successfully, it must follow that they too had by no means failed to maintain the efficiency of their cavalry. Again, it is not quite clear why Smith makes light of elephants as an instrument of warfare at that period. Even Maḥmūd of Ghazna, whose generalship was of an unquestionable character did not fail to make use of elephants whenever a suitable occasion called for it. Thus when he gave battle to the Tartar chief Ilaq Khān, near Balkh, he is reported to have purposely brought 500 elephants into the field, whose huge bulk and strange appearance produced their full effect on the horses of the enemy and checked the impetuosity of the Tartar charge. The elephants then advanced and pushed into the midst of the enemy, dispersing, overthrowing and trampling under foot whatever was opposed to them. It is said that Maḥmūd's own elephant caught up the standard bearer of Ilaq Khān with his trunk. "Before this disorder could be recovered, the armies closed; and so rapid and courageous was the onset of the Ghaznevites, that the Tartars gave way on all sides and were driven with a prodigious slaughter from the field of battle."

[Just a note of warning here, to prevent any misunderstanding that is likely to arise in this connection. When the various instances of Muhammadan iconoclasm and Muhammadan 'fanaticism' have been pointed out here, it is by no means to be understood even by implication that they were prompted by any teaching of the Quran. What almost invariably happened was that the passion for plunder was already present in the mind of the Muhammadan invader and that he was helped by the theologian so to interpret, that is, misinterpret, the sacred text as not only to justify his wanton spoliation of the non-Moslem populations and destruction of their places of worship but deem such vicious courses as a distinct service to Islam. Intolerance and violence, it is rightly contended, are nowhere preached by the *Shariat*. Similarly, wherever it is contended in this article that the Rajpūts

successfully held at bay the Muhammadan invaders for three centuries and a half, it is by no means implied thereby that Hinduism was in any way superior to Muhammadanism. The question discussed above has nothing to do with the evaluation of any religion. And the word 'Muhammadan' is used simply to denote a non-Indian who not only refused to embrace any Hindu faith as his predecessors of the pre-Moslem period did in India but on the contrary carried on virulent and obtrusive proselytising propaganda.]

ON THE DATE OF SAMANTABHADRA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

—1919—

It is easy to fix the date of Samantabhadra if we carefully study his Yuktyanuśāsana and his Aptamīmāṃsā. In the former work he attacks the well-known definition of perception given by Dharmakīrti in the Nyāyabindu :—

प्रत्यक्षनिर्देशवदप्यसिद्ध—

मकल्पकं ज्ञापयितुं अशक्यम् ।

विना च सिद्धेर्न च लक्षणार्थो

न तावकद्वेषिणि वीर । सत्यम् ॥ १३ ॥

Yuktyanuśāsana

Translation

A principle, that is not proved, is impossible to be pointed out with certainty as free from imagination. When there is no proof, the definition loses its meaning. O Mahāvira, truth is not found in thy foe Sugata.

Pātrakesari thus comments on the passage—निश्चयस्वरूपा-
निश्चये ततो कल्पकप्रत्यक्षव्यवस्थानादुपपत्तेः सर्वथा तस्य ज्ञापयितुमशक्तेः कुतः सिद्धिः
स्यात् ? विना च सिद्धेर्न च लक्षणार्थः संभवति “कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्ष” मिति लक्षणस्यार्थः
प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यायनं, न च प्रत्यक्षस्य सिद्धेर्विना तत्प्रत्यायनं कर्तुं शक्यमिति नैव लक्षणार्थः कवि-
संगच्छते.

In the Aptamīmāṃsā, verse 80, Samantabhadra says that Dharmakīrti contradicts himself when he says.

सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदो नीलतद्वियोः (प्रमाणविनिश्चय)

And in the same work, verse 106, the Jaina author attacks the त्रिलक्षण हेतु of the Buddhist writer. Hence it is clear that Samantabhadra comes after Dharmakīrti.

I shall now proceed to prove that Samantabhadra refutes the views of Bhartṛhari. One of the peculiarities of our mediaeval authors is that they quote as nearly as possible the very words of those writers whose opinions they wish to refute. This will be evident from the following examples, Vidyānanda-
pātrakesari says :—

तदुक्तम्

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञो कपिलो नेति का प्रमा¹ ।

तावुभो यदि सर्वज्ञौ मतभेदः कथं तयोरिति ॥

1 This is Kumārilā's verse refuted in the following two verses.

तदेवं वक्तव्यम्

भावना यदि वाक्यार्थो नियोगो नेति का प्रमा ।
तावुभौ यदि वाक्यार्थौ हतौ भट्टप्रभाकराविति ॥
कार्येयं चोदना ज्ञानं स्वरूपे किम् तत्प्रमा ।
द्वयोश्चेदन्तौ तौ नष्टौ भट्टवेदान्तवादिनाविति ॥

Aṣṭasaṃhāri Nir. Śāg ed., p, 5.

Śāntaraksita quotes and refutes Kumārila:

सुगतो यदि सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति का प्रमा ।
अथोभावपि सर्वज्ञो मतभेदस्तयोः कथम् ॥ ३१४९ ॥
सुगतस्तेन सर्वज्ञः कपिलो नेति तु प्रमा ।
अनन्तरोदिता व्यक्ताऽप्येषा सृष्टेर्न लक्षिता ॥ ३३४७ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, pp. 822 and 878

सर्वप्रमातृसंबद्धप्रत्यक्षादि निवारणात् ।
केवलागमगम्यत्वं लस्यते पुण्यपापयोः ॥ ३१४२ ॥
एतावतैव मीमांसापक्षे सिद्धेऽपि यः पुनः ।
सर्वज्ञवारणे यत्नस्तत्कृतं मृतमारणम् ॥ ३१४३ ॥

This is the statement of Kumārila refuted in the following two verses:—

सर्वप्रमातृसंबद्धप्रत्यक्षादिनिवारणात् ।
केवलागमगम्यत्वं नाप्यते पुण्यपापयोः ॥ ३३१५ ॥
एतावता च मीमांसापक्षेऽसिद्धेऽपि यः पुनः ।
सर्वज्ञवारणे यत्नः सोऽति सौख्या (सौख्या ?) त्वरैः कृतः ॥ ३३१६ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, pp. 820, and 864.

यत्नेनानुमितोऽर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
अभियुक्ततरैरन्यैरन्यथैवोपपाद्यते ॥ १४६२ ॥
यत्नेनानुमितोऽर्थः कुशलैरनुमातृभिः ।
नान्यथा साध्यते सोऽन्यैरभियुक्ततरैरपि ॥ १४७७ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, pp. 426 and 430

The first verse belongs to Bhartṛhari and is refuted by *Śāntaraksita* in the second verse.

Let us now turn to the following passage,

“ सर्वप्रमातृसंबन्धि प्रत्यक्षादि निवारणात् ।
केवलागमगम्यं च ” कथं मीमांसकृत्य तत् ॥ १८ ॥
कार्येयं चोदनाज्ञानं प्रमाणं यस्य संमतम् ।
तस्य स्वरूपसत्तायां तन्मैवातिप्रसङ्गतः ॥ १९ ॥
तद् ज्ञापकोपलम्भस्याभावोऽभावप्रमाणतः ।
साध्यते चेन्न तस्यापि सर्वत्राप्यप्रवृत्तितः ॥ २० ॥
“ गृहीत्वा वस्तु सद्भावं स्मृत्वा तत्प्रतिबोधिनिम्नम्
मानसं नास्ति ताज्ञानं येषामक्षानपेक्षया ” ॥ २१ ॥

जायते नास्ति ताज्ञानं मानसं तत्र नान्यथा ॥ २२ ॥

Nirnaya S. ed. p. 14.

निषेध्यस्मरणे च स्यान्नास्ति ताज्ञानमञ्जसा ॥ १०५ ॥

ग्राह्यग्राहकवैधुर्यात्स्वयं सैव प्रकाशते ॥

प्राह्यप्राहकवैधुर्यात्स्वयं सा न प्रकाशते ॥

न प्रकाशः प्रकाशेन सा हि प्रत्यवमार्शिनी ॥

प्रामाण्यसंयुतं शेषं श्रुतं शब्दानुयोजनात् ॥

Now this very doctrine of Bhartṛhari is severely criticised by Haribhadrasūri in his *Anekāntajayapatākā* (p. 43 a) in the following passage in which the Śvetāmbara author¹ quotes Samantabhadra, whom he calls वदिमुल्ल्य. एतेन यदुक्तमाह च

1 **Jaina Sthitya Samśodhake**, Part 1, by Jinavijayamuni.

शब्दार्थवित्, वाग्रपता चेदुक्तामेव इत्यादि कारिकाद्वयं तदपि प्रत्युक्तम् । तुल्ययोगक्षेमत्वादिति आह च वादिमुख्यः

बोधात्मा चेच्छब्दस्य न स्यादन्यत्र तच्छ्रुतिः ।

यद् बोद्धारं परित्यज्य न बोधोऽन्यत्र गच्छति ॥

न च स्यात्प्रत्ययो लोके यः श्रोत्रा न प्रतीयते ।

शब्दाभेदेन सत्येवं सर्वः स्यात्पराचितवत् ॥ इत्यादि ।

Translation.

If a word is of the nature of knowledge it will never be heard apart from the knower in whom knowledge resides, since knowledge never goes away from the knower. Nor is there any knowledge in the world which is not understood by a hearer. Thus a word being identical with knowledge, the knower and the hearer, every thing will be like the mind of other people.

It is thus clear that the doctrine of शब्दोद्भूत is positively wrong in the opinion of Samantabhadra. We may compare Samantabhadra's words न च स्यात्प्रत्ययो लोके यः श्रोत्रा न प्रतीयते । with Bhartṛhari's words न सोस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादते । Samantabhadra refutes Bhartṛhari's opinion as nearly as possible in the latter's own words.

Lakṣmidhara, the pupil of Samantabhadra, in his *Ekāntakhaṇḍana*,¹ says.

अनेकान्तलक्ष्मीविलासाऽऽवासाः सिद्धसेनार्याः असिद्धिं प्रति (त्य) पादयन् । षड्दर्शन-
रहस्यसंवेदनसंपादितनिस्सीमपाण्डित्यमण्डिताः पूज्यपादस्वामिनस्तु विरोधं साधयति स्म ।
सकलतार्किकचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमेचकितचरणनखमयूखा भगवन्तः श्रीस्वामिसमन्तभद्राचार्या
असिद्धिविरोधावब्रुवन् । तदुक्तं ।

असिद्धं सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धं देवनन्दिनः ।

द्वयं समन्तभद्रस्य सर्वथैकान्तसाधनमिति ॥

नित्याद्येकान्तहेतोर्बुधतातिमहितः सिद्धसेनो असिद्धं ।

ब्रूते श्रीदेवनन्दी विदितजिन्मतः सन् विरोधं व्यनक्ति ।

In the *Ekāntakhaṇḍana*, from the opening part of which the above extracts are taken, Lakṣmidhara quotes Bhaṭṭācārya's disapproval of the Jaina doctrine that sounds are substances and not qualities.

वर्णात्मकाश्च ये शब्दाः नित्याः सर्वगतास्तथा ।

पृथक् द्रव्यतया ते तु न गुणाः कस्यचिन्मताः ॥

इति भद्राचार्याः

Ekāntakhaṇḍana, palm-leaf ms p. 29 (a)

1. A palm-leaf ms belonging to Lakṣmīseṇa maṭha, Kolhapur.

Bhaṭṭācārya quoted by Lakṣmīdhara is Kumārila himself who is frequently referred to by this title,

तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यैर्मामांसाश्लोकवार्तिके ।

यस्यानवयवः स्फोटो ।

व्यज्यते वर्णबुद्धिभिः ।

सोपि पर्यययोगेन नैकेनापि विमुच्यते ॥ इति ।

तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यैः

प्रयोजनमवुद्दिश्य न मन्दोपि प्रवर्तते ।

जगच्च सृजतस्तस्य किं नाम न कृतं भवेत् ॥ इति

Sarvadarśanasamgraha

Ānandāśrama ed, pp. 115 and 98.

In my paper entitled the position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina literature ¹ I have proved that the Āptamīmāṃsā of Samantabhadra and its first commentary called Aṣṭasāti by Akalaṅkadeva are severely criticised by Kumārila and defended by Akalaṅkadeva's two Junior contemporaries Vidyānandapātrakesari and Prabācandra. Akalaṅkadeva flourished during the reign of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Sāhasatūṅga-dantidurga; and Prabācandra lived on into the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, as he quotes Guṇabhadra's Ātmānuśāsana. The literary activities of Akalaṅkadeva and his critic Kumārila must be placed in the latter half of the eighth century. And since Samantabhadra refutes the opinions of Dharamakīrti and Bhartṛhari, and his pupil Lakṣmīdhara quotes Kumārila, we are forced to assign Samantabhadra to the first half of the eighth century.

From the passages cited above from the Ekāntakhaṇḍana, it is clear that Pūjyapāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. How then can we account for the last sūtra in the Jainendra vyākaraṇa, चतुष्टयं समन्तभद्रस्य V, 4, 168?

Let us compare the last four sūtras of Pūjyapāda with the corresponding sūtras of Pāṇini and Jaina Śākatāyana.

Pūjyapāda	Pāṇini	Jaina Śākatāyana
{ ज्ञयो हः (V, 4, 164)	{ ज्ञयो होन्यतरस्याम् (VIII, 4, 62)	{ जशो हो ज्ञप्ता (I, 1, 143)
{ शम्भोऽमि (V, 4, 165)	{ शम्भो टि (VIII, 4, 63) छत्वमसीति वक्तव्यम्	{ शम्भोऽमि (I, 4, 144)

{ हलो यमो यमि सं { (V, 4, 166)	{ हलो यमां यमि लोपः { (VIII, 4, 64)	{ हलो यमि यमो वा { (I, 1, 132)
{ झरो झरि स्वे { (V, 4, 167)	{ झरो झरि सङ्घर्षे { (VIII, 4, 65)	{ जरि जर स्वे वा { (I, 1, 133)
{ चतुष्टयं समन्त— { भद्रस्य (V, 4, 168)		

I have shown that Jaina Śākaṭāyana has copied many sūtras from Jainendra-vyākaraṇa. And yet, instead of citing Samantabhadra as an authority on grammar, Jaina Śākaṭāyana is content to use the word वा in his sūtras. As regards the optional forms to be obtained from the four concluding sūtras of Pūjyapāda, this can be easily done, by reading into each of these sūtras by अनुवृत्ति the word वा occurring in the Jainendra sūtra वा नुक्पदान्तस्य V, 4, 160. It is thus evident that the sūtra mentioning समन्तभद्र is an interpolation. Similar remarks may be made about the names भूतबलि (III, 4, 102), श्रीदत्त (I, 4, 39), प्रभाचन्द्र (IV, 3, 240), and सिद्धसेन (V, 1, 7), since Jaina Śākaṭāyana employs the word वा in his corresponding sūtras (III, 2, 106; I, 3, 154; II, 2, 72; I, 4, 42). Nor are we inclined to attach any value to the names occurring in the following sūtras of Jaina Śākaṭāyana himself,

- ततः प्रागार्यवज्रस्य I, 2, 13.
- जराया ऋसिन्द्रस्याचि I, 2, 37.
- शेषात् सिद्धनन्दिनः II, 1, 229.

as we find that in the corresponding sūtras Pūjyapāda uses वा

- प्राग्वाऽतः V, 1, 55.
- जराया ऋस् (वा) V, 1, 175.
- शेषाद्वा IV, 2, 194.

The mention of इन्द्र in one of the above sūtras of Jaina Śākaṭāyana has misled some scholars into the belief that Indra was a real grammarian. But this is contradicted by Pūjyapāda V, 1, 175, and Hemacandra (II, 1, 3). Besides the sūtra in question is entirely based on Pāṇini VII, 2, 101 जराया जरसन्यतरस्याम्. Thus the difficulty caused by the interpolated names being removed, Samantabhadra may be assigned to the eighth century.

SĀNTARAKṢITA'S REFERENCE TO KUMĀRILA'S
ATTACKS ON SAMANTABHADRA AND
AKALĀṆKADEVA

BY

DR. K. B. PATHAK, B. A., Ph. D.

An excellent edition of an interesting Buddhist work called *Tattvasamgraha* by Śāntarakṣita with a commentary by Kamalaśīla has lately been published in the Gaekwad's Oriental series. This work should be read along with the writings of the famous Jaina authors Samantabhadra, Akalāṅkadeva, Māṇikyanandi, Pātrakesari and Prabhācandra. As regards the age of this Buddhist writer Śāntarakṣita it is enough to state that he quotes Pātrakesari and is himself quoted by the latter's Junior contemporary Prabhācandra. What is still more important is that Śāntarakṣita knows the fact that Samantabhadra and Akalāṅkadeva, a contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Śāhasatūṅga Dantidurga (Śaka 675, A. D. 753) are attacked by Bhaṭṭa Kumārila.

Before beginning to deal with the subject of my paper, it is necessary to give my opinion about the merits of this edition. The editor Embar Krishnamacharya Shastri deserves to be highly praised for his great industry and accuracy. His method of filling up the lacunae in the author's verses is excellent. His emendations are enclosed in brackets; where no emendations can be proposed the lacunae are allowed to remain as in the original ms. The student of Digambara Jaina literature will be struck with the सर्वज्ञवाद in the *Tattvasamgraha* which resembles the सर्वज्ञवाद in the *Aṣṭasahasri* and the *Prameya-kamala-mārtanda*. Kumārila, who figures prominently in these three works, says,

एवं शास्त्रविचारेषु दृश्यतेऽतिशयो महान् ।
न तु शास्त्रान्तरज्ञानं तस्मात्तन्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥ ३१६४ ॥

Tattvasamgraha vol. II p 826.

ज्योतिर्विष्व प्रकृत्योऽपि चन्द्रार्कग्रहणादिकम् (विद् ?)
न भवत्यादिशब्दानां साधुत्वं ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥ ३१६६ ॥

Let us read the correct text of these verses in the Jaina¹ works :—

¹ { *Aṣṭasahasri*, Nirṇayasa. ed., p. 47
 Aptaparīkṣā, Benares, ed. p. 54.
 Prameyakamalamārtanda, Nirṇayasa. ed, p. 69 (b)

एकशास्त्रविचारेषु दृश्यतेतिशयो महान् ।
न तु शास्त्रान्तरद्वान् तन्मात्रेणैव लभ्यते ॥
ज्योतिर्विच प्रकृष्टेपि चन्द्रार्कग्रहणादिषु ।
न भवत्यादिशब्दानां साधुत्वं ज्ञातुमर्हति ॥

The Shastri reads :—

तस्मात्सर्वेषु यद्रूपं प्रत्येकं परिनिष्ठितम् ।
गोबुद्धिस्तन्निमित्ता स्या.....स्ति तत् ॥ ११८ ॥
सामान्यं (वस्तुरूपं हि बुद्ध्या)कारो भविष्यति ।
शब्दार्थ.....प्रकल्पितः ॥ १२१ ॥

But we know that the above verses are found in the *Mīmāṃsā*lokavārtika ¹ thus

तस्मात्सर्वेषु यद्रूपं प्रत्येकं परिनिष्ठितम् ।
गोबुद्धिस्तन्निमित्ता स्याद्वात्वादप्यत्र नास्ति तत् ॥ १० ॥
सामान्यं वस्तुरूपं हि बुद्ध्याकारो भविष्यति ।
शब्दार्थोऽर्थानपेक्षा हि वृथाऽपोहः प्रकल्पितः ॥ ३८ ॥

I give these two verses only in this paper, as Kumārila's verses in the सर्वज्ञवाद in the *Astasahasri*, the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and the *Prameyakaṃalamārtapaṇḍa* will form the subject of a separate paper. I shall now give two verses more from the *Tattvasaṃgraha*. ²

आचार्यैरपि निर्दिष्टमिदं संक्षेपलक्षणम् ।
“ प्राबल्यमस्तदर्थेन व्याप्तिरिति तद्विशेषः ॥ १३८५ ॥

This is a well-known definition of हेतु given by Dignāga, as we learn from Udyotakara ³ and Vācaspati-miśra.

As regards the second verse

अर्थोपपत्तेः शाबर्या भैक्षवाचानुमानतः ।
अन्यदेवानुमानं नो नरसिंहवदिष्यते ॥

I must first point out that भैक्षवाचानुमानतः is obviously a mistake for भैक्षवाचानुमानतः the two expressions शाबरी अर्थोपपत्ति and भैक्ष अनुमान are in the ablative case and joined by the particle च. The ablative is required by the following word अन्यत् according to Pāṇini *अन्यारात्* II, 3, 29. Now भैक्ष अनुमान is the अनुमान of भिक्षु who is this भिक्षु? Pārthasārathi commenting upon Kumārila's verse 94 अनुमान परिच्छेद, ⁴ says.

1 *Mīmāṃsālokavārtika*, Benares ed. pp. 568, 576.

2 *Tattvasaṃgraha*, vol. I p. 409.

3 *Nyāyavārtika*, Calcutta ed. p. 134.

4 *Nyāyavārtika-tātparyatīkā*, Benares ed. p. 199.

5 *Mīmāṃsālokavārtika*, Benares ed. p. 377.

यत्तु भिक्षुणा “पक्षधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुरिति एकस्यैव हेतुत्वविवक्षयाऽनेकयो-
र्विरुद्धाऽव्यभिचारिणोराभासत्वं दर्शितं, तन्निराकरोति कचिदिति। The words पक्षधर्म-
स्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुः is part of the verse ascribed to Dharmakīrti by
Ānandajñāna who says

यथाऽऽह कीर्तिः—

पक्षधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुस्त्रिधैव सः ।
अविनाभावनियमाद्धेत्वाभासस्ततोऽपरः ॥

भैक्षव अनुमान therefore refers to the three kinds of हेतु which
are described in the Nyāyabindu.¹

The Shāstri doubts whether the quotation नामजात्यादि
belongs to Dignāga who is called लक्षणकार. But this doubt
will be removed by Akalaṅkādeva who says

तथा चोक्तं ।

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढं नामजात्यादियोजना ।
असाधारणहेतुत्वादक्षैस्तद्वयपदिश्यते ॥

Tattvārtharājavārtika, p. 38.

The Shāstri reads जातिः पदार्थ इति वाजा (का ?) त्यायनः, द्व्यर्माति व्याप्तिः
उभय पाणिनिः। Here the correct form is वाजप्यायन according to
Vārtika 35 on Pāṇini 1, 2, 64. Kielhorn's ed. Mahābhāṣya
vol. I, p. 242.

On p. 817, Tattvasaṁgraha Vol. II the Shāstri has
व्याकरणेऽभिर्देगित्यादिना लक्षणेन प्रत्ययागमादिकार्यं विधीयमानमर्थे न संभवतीति सामर्थ्या-
दर्थेवाचिनि शब्देऽवगम्यत इति वैयाकरणैर्वर्ण्यते. The student of Pātāñjala-
Mahābhāṣya will at once be reminded of the following passage:
इह व्याकरणेऽर्थे कार्यस्यासंभवः । अनेदंक् (पाणिनि 4. 2. 33) इति न शक्यतेऽङ्कारेभ्यः
परो ढक्कुम् । शब्देनार्थगतैरर्थस्यासंभवात् ।

Kielhorn's ed. Mahābhāṣya.

Vol. I, pp. 175, 176.

अभिर्देक् is thus a mistake for अनेदंक्. On p. 768, Tattva-
saṁgraha Vol. II. we read यथोक्तमप्रत्यक्षोपलम्भस्य नार्थदृष्टिः प्रसिध्यति ।
This is a quotation attributed to Dharmakīrti in Sarvadarśana-
saṁgraha (chap. on Buddhism). It also occurs on p. 578 of
Tattvasaṁgraha Vol. II. This should have been pointed out in
the Appendix.

On p. 72 Tattvasaṁgraha Vol. I. Kamalaśīla quotes 2
verses of Suresvara from Brhadāraṇyakavārtika.

यथा विशुद्धमाकाशं तिमिरोपप्लुतो जनः ।
संकीर्णमिव मात्राभिधित्राभिरुपलक्षयेत् ॥

¹ Peterson's ed. p. 104.

तथेदममलं ब्रह्म निर्विकारमविद्यया ।
कलुषत्वमिवापन्नं भेदरूपं प्रकाशते ॥

Anandāsrama ed.
बृहदारण्यकवार्तिक III.
p. 1246.

Sureśvara's critic is Pātrakesari.. His well-known verse

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ।
नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किम् ॥ १७८ ॥

is found in his *Tattvārthaslokavārtikālamkāra* p. 203. This is quoted by Śāntaraksita (*Tattvasaṃgraha* Vol. I, p. 406). Both the text and the commentary of *Tattvārthaslokavārtika* were composed by Pātrakesariśvāmi himself, as the commentary is cited in the *Aṣṭasahasrī* p. 92 thus तत्त्वार्थश्लोकवार्तिकोऽङ्कारे व्यासतः समर्थितं प्रतिपत्तव्यम् । we are told in the commentary that this verse was composed by the *Vārtikakāra* Pātrakesari himself. This finally settles the date of Śāntaraksita.

A most interesting feature of the edition is the Appendix containing quotations found in the text and the commentary with an attempt to identify them. Most of the quotations found in this Buddhist work are also met with in the Jaina authors mentioned above. Some of the verses which are attributed to Kumārila by Kamalaśīla but are not found in the Benares edition of Kumārila's works, are not indicated in a separate index. Some verses quoted in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, though not found in the Benares edition, are nevertheless pointed out in a separate index. The author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* is referred to as Vidyāranya or simply Mādhavācārya. This is a mistake as is evident from the following introductory verses in that work.

श्रीमत्सायणदुग्धाधिकौतुभेन सहोजसा ।
क्रियते माधवायेण सर्वदर्शनेसंग्रहः ॥ ३ ॥
पूर्वेषामतिदुस्तराणि सुतरामालोच्य शास्त्रप्यसौ
श्रीमत्सायणमाधवः प्रभुरपन्यास्यत्सर्ता प्रीतये ।
दूरोत्सारितमस्मरेण मन्त्रसा श्रुतः तु तत्सत्त्वज्ञा
मार्थं करय विचित्रपुष्परचितं प्रीतये न संजायते ॥ ४ ॥

In the first verse quoted above Mādhavārya is compared to the कौतुभरत्न sprung from the milk-ocean which was सायण; that is to say, just as the jewel was the off-spring of the ocean, so was Mādhavārya born from Sāyana; the author of the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha* was thus the son of Sāyana and the nephew of Vidyāranya. This is confirmed by the expression

सायण माधव used in the second verse which means सायण पुत्र माधव where the word पुत्र is omitted. The first chapter of this work ends :—

इति श्रीमत्सायणमाधवीये सर्वदर्शनसंग्रहे चार्वाकदर्शनम् where we are to understand that this work was composed by Mādhava son of Sāyana.

In the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti we are told

अस्ति श्रीसंगमज्ञापः पृथ्वीतन्मुरन्दरः ।

यस्मिन्मोक्षिकादर्शे शिष्यक्या प्रतिदिश्यते ॥

तस्य मन्त्रिशिखारत्नमस्ति सायणसायणः

Here the expression सायणसायण means सायणपुत्रसायण as we learn further on,

तेन सायणपुत्रेन सायणेन मनीषिणा ।

आख्यया माधवीयेयं धातुवृत्तिर्विरच्यते ॥

This subject has been fully dealt with by Rava Bahadur R. Narasimhaachar in the Indian Antiquary (1916) pp. 12-17. The practice of prefixing the father's name to a person's name once prevailed in Western India. I have proved in my paper in the Epigraphia Indica vol. X p. 15., that Niravadya-Śrīmad-Anivārīta-Puṇyavallabha means Niravadya-putra-Śrīmad-Anivārīta-Puṇyavallabha or the illustrious Anivārīta-Puṇyavallabha, the son of Niravadya. Similarly Śrīmad-Anivārīta-Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabha means Śrīmad-Anivārīta-putra-Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabha or Dhanamjaya-Puṇyavallabha son of the illustrious Anivārīta. Here Puṇyavallabha is the family name. These facts lead to the conclusion that the author of the Sarvadarśanasamgraha was a different person from his more celebrated uncle Vidvāranya-Mādhavācārya and should be spoken of as Sāyana-Mādhava to distinguish him from the latter. It is needless to state that the composition of the Sarvadarśanasamgraha must be placed one generation later than that of the Mādhaviya Dhātuvṛtti.

It may be remarked that the present practice of prefixing one's name to the father's name, which is in vogue in Western India, dates only from the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan.

Let us now turn to the subject of the present paper.

In the first passage quoted below Kumārila discusses the argument advanced in support of the claim of Arhan and Sugata to be considered omniscient. In the second, Śāntarakṣita replies to these arguments and maintains that Sugata

alone is omniscient. The third passage is most important and interesting. It is quoted both by the Jaina author Pātrakesari in the Aṣṭasahasri, and by the Buddhist writer Śāntarakṣita in the Tattvasaṃgraha. The latter's commentator Kamalaśīla assures us that this passage of Kumārila is directly aimed at the Jainas, while Pātrakesari says that here his senior contemporary Akalanka and his predecessor Samantabhadra are assailed by Kumārila.

First passage

गणिताद्येकदेशे तु सर्वेषां सत्यवादिता ।
जिनबुद्धादिसत्त्वानां विशेषो नावधार्यते ॥ ३१५० ॥
येनैव हेतुनैकस्य सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रसाध्यते ।
स्वपक्षप्रीतिमात्रेण सोऽन्यस्याप्युपतिष्ठते ॥ ३१५१ ॥
दृषणानि संसंरम्भाः सर्वज्ञजिनसाधने ।
शाक्या यान्येव जल्पन्ति जैनास्तान्येव युञ्जते ॥ ३१५२ ॥
तत्रानवास्थितैस्तेषां भिन्नेः साधनदृष्टयः ।
प्रतिविम्वोदयग्रस्तौर्निर्ययः क्रियते कथम् ॥ ३१५३ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha Vol. II p. 822.

In these verses Kumārila says that there is little to choose between the arguments advanced by the Bauddhas and the Jainas against each other. For this reason it is hard to decide which side has the advantage. Śāntarakṣita replies that the Buddhist view alone is correct.

Second passage

यथोदितान्तरादेव विशेषोऽप्यवधार्यते ।
ऋषभादिकुतीर्थेभ्यः स्मरभङ्गविघ्रायिनः ॥ ३३४८ ॥
कोहि निःशेषशार्त्तार्थतत्त्वज्ञं मन्यते जडः ।
समानभोजनज्ञानान्मातृकामात्रवेदनात् ॥ ३३४९ ॥
तथेन हेतुनैकस्य सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रसाध्यते ।
तद्वेतुवस्तुतोऽसत्त्वात् सोऽन्यस्योपतिष्ठते ॥ ३३५० ॥
तदृषणान्यसंरम्भाः सर्वज्ञजिनशासने
शाक्या यानि वदन्येवं तान्यशक्ता दिग्गम्बराः ॥ ३३५१ ॥

Tattvasaṃgraha, vol. II, p. 879.

Śāntarakṣita says that he knows the arguments of the Digambara Jaina authors [Samantabhadra and Akalankadeva] alluded to by Kumārila in the third passage given below. The first five verses are also quoted and refuted by Pātrakesari,

Kamalaśīla introduces this passage thus :—

येऽपि मन्यन्ते—नास्माभिः शुद्धग्राहिकया सर्वज्ञः प्रसाध्यते किंतिहि? सामान्येन संभवमात्रं प्रसाध्यते—अस्ति कोऽपि सर्वज्ञः, क्वचिद्वा सर्वज्ञत्वमस्ति, प्रज्ञादीनां प्रकर्षदर्शनादिति, तान्प्रतीदमाह—नर इत्यादि ।

The third passage.

नरः कोऽप्यस्ति सर्वज्ञ¹स्तत्सर्वज्ञत्वमित्यपि ।
 साधनं यत्प्रयुज्येत प्रतिज्ञा²न्यूनमेव तत् ॥ ३२३० ॥
 सिसाधयिषितो योऽर्थः सोऽनया नाभिधीयते ।
 यस्तुच्यते न तत्सिद्धौ किंचिदस्ति प्रयोजनम् ॥ ३२३१ ॥
 यदीयागमसत्यत्वसिद्धये³ सर्वज्ञतोच्यते ।
 न सा सर्वज्ञसामान्यसिद्धिमात्रेण लभ्यते ॥ ३२३२ ॥
 यावद्बुद्धो न सर्वज्ञस्तावत्तद्वचनं मृषा ।
 यत्र कचन सर्वज्ञे सिद्धे तत्सत्यता कुतः ॥ ३२३३ ॥
 अन्यस्मिन् हि सर्वज्ञे वचसोऽन्यस्य सत्यता ।
 सामानाधिकरण्ये हि तयोरङ्गाङ्गीता भवेत् ॥ ३२३४ ॥

Tattvasamgraha vol, II, p. 841.

The word साधन in the first verse of Kumārila means, according to Laghusamantabhadra,⁴ सुनिश्चितासंभवद्व्याधकप्रमाणत्वादिति. This is the reason given by Akalaṅkadeva who says,

“तदेवं तत् सुनिश्चितासंभवद्व्याधकप्रमाणत्वमर्हत्येव सकलज्ञत्वं साधयति नान्य-
 त्रेत्यविरोध इत्यादिना स्पष्टयति” स्वामीति शेषः Svāmi=Samantabhadra.

Aṣṭasahasrī, p. 72.

The next three verses of Kumārila quoted by Śāntaraksita are thus introduced by Kamalaśīla यदप्यम(प।)रेः⁵ सर्वज्ञसिद्धये साधनमुपरुचितं तदप्येतेनैव प्रतिव्यूढमिति दर्शयितुमाह यत्सर्वमित्यादि ।

यत्सर्वं नाम लोकेऽस्मिन्प्रत्यक्षं तद्धि कस्यचित् ।
 प्रमेयज्ञेयवस्तुत्वैर्दधिरूपरसादिवत् ॥ ३२३५ ॥
 ज्ञानमात्रेऽपि निर्दिष्टे पक्षन्यूनत्वमापतेत् ।
 सर्वज्ञ इति योऽभीष्टो नेत्यं स प्रतिपादितः ॥ ३२३६ ॥
 यदि बुद्धातिरिक्तोऽन्यः कश्चित्सर्वज्ञतां गतः ।
 बुद्धवाक्यप्रमाणत्वे तज्ज्ञानं कोपयुज्यते ॥ ३२३७ ॥

Kamalaśīla explains :—

यत्प्रमेयत्ववस्तुत्वादियोगि तत्कस्यचित्प्रत्यक्षं, यथा दधिरूपरसादिकं, सर्वं न पदार्थजातं प्रमेयत्वादि स्वभावमिति स्वभावहेतुः ।

The first of the three verses of Kumārila contains a direct attack on Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva.

1 *Aṣṭasahasrī*, Nirṇaya sūg. ed, p. 75. reads स तु सर्वज्ञ इत्यपि । for the translation of this passage, see my previous paper, “Position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina literature.”

2 *Aṣṭasahasrī*, प्रतिज्ञावाचमेव.

3 *Aṣṭasahasrī*, सिद्धौ

4 *Aṣṭasahasrī*, p. 75, foot-note 20. See also other foot-notes given by Laghusamantabhadra here.

5 अरेः refers to Samantabhadra, Akalaṅkadeva and Pātrakesari as will be shown further on.

Samantabhadra says.

तीर्थद्वयमयानां च परस्परविरोधतः ।
सर्वेयामास ॥ अस्ति कश्चिदेव भवेद्गुरुः ॥ ३ ॥
सूक्ष्मान्तरितद्वारायाः प्रत्यक्षाः कस्यचिद्यथा ।
अनुमेयत्वतोऽग्न्यादिरिति सर्वज्ञसंस्थितिः ॥ ५ ॥

Āptamīmāṃsā.

Pātrakesari says, this is the view of Kumārila स्यान्मतं, बाधित-
विषयोयं हेतुरनुमानेन पश्यस्य बाधवान् । तथा हि । न कश्चिन् सूक्ष्माद्यर्थसाक्षात्कारी, प्रमे-
यत्वात्सत्त्वाद्गुरुत्वादनुमेयत्वमिति चेत् । न चेदं साधनमसिद्धं व्यभिचारि वा प्रत्यक्षाद्यवसंवादितात्
तदुक्तं

“प्रत्यक्षाद्यविसंवादि प्रमेयत्वादि यस्य तु ।

सद्भाववारणे शक्तं को नु तं कल्पयिष्यति” इति ।¹

तदप्यसम्यक्, तत एव कस्यचिन्सूक्ष्माद्यर्थसाक्षात्कारित्वसिद्धेः । सूक्ष्माद्यर्थोः
कस्यचित्प्रत्यक्षाः प्रमेयत्वं सत्त्वाद्गुरुत्वाद्वा रफदि तादिवत् । अनुमेयेनात्यन्तपरोक्षं चार्थेन
व्यभिचार इति चेत्, तस्य पक्षीहरणम् । “तदेवं प्रमेयत्वं सत्त्वादर्थेन हेतुलक्षणं पुष्पाति तं
कथं चेतनः प्रतिषेद्धमर्हति संशयितुं वा” सूक्ष्माद्यर्थसाक्षात्कारिणस्तस्मैव मुनिश्चितासंभव-
द्व्यापकत्वादस्ति तत्सिद्धिरबाधितविषयतस्यापि परोपगतहेतुलक्षणस्य प्रकृतहेतोः पोषणात् ।

Aṣṭasahasrī, p. 58.

In one of the two verses of Samantabhadra quoted above
the reason given to prove the existence of सर्वज्ञ is अनुमेयत्वतः ।
This word is explained by the commentator Vasunandi²
thus :—

अनुमेयाः अनुमानगम्याः । अथवा अनुगतं मेयं मानं येषां ते अनुमेयाः प्रमेया इत्यर्थः ।
तेषां भावस्तस्मादनुमेयत्वतः । ये ये प्रमेयास्ते ते प्रत्यक्षाः । यथा अग्न्यादयः ।
प्रमेयाश्च स्वभावकालदेः विप्रकृष्टा अर्थाः कस्याचरतुल्याविशेषस्य तस्मात्तेऽपि प्रत्यक्षाः ।
It is thus evident that the words अनुमेय and प्रमेय are synony-
mous. Akalaṅkādeva uses the word प्रमेयत्वं in the above extract.
And Kumārila copies this word and says :—

प्रत्यक्षाद्यविसंवादि प्रमेयत्वादि यस्य च ।

सद्भाववारणे शक्तं को नु तं कल्पयिष्यति ॥ १३२ ॥

Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika Benares ed. p. 85.

The Commentator Pārthasārathimīśra is older than
Mādhavācārya who mentions him in his *Jaiminiya-
nyāyamālāvistara*. Pārthasārathī explains the above verse
thus :—

अतितुच्छत्वायं सर्वज्ञत्वादो यस्य सर्वे साधारणैरपि प्रमेयत्वादिभिः प्रमाणान्तरविरोधेनैव
निराकरणं संभवतीत्याह प्रत्यक्षादीति ।

1 *Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika*, verse, 132, Benares ed. p. 82.

2 *Āptamīmāṃsā*, Benares ed. p. 4.

This explanation is most absurd. Pātrakesari first makes explanatory remarks and then by way of confirmation introduces this verse. He says "Kumārila's¹ view may be thus stated:—

Here the subject of the reason is contradicted, since the minor term (पक्ष) is contradicted by the inference. This can be shown thus :—There is no body who can perceive things that are minute past and distant because they are demonstrable just as we are unable to perceive such things. Nor can it be urged that the reason (प्रमेयत्वादि) is here unproven or fallacious, since it is in agreement with perception. Therefore it is said by Kumārila :—

Who will believe in an omniscient being whose existence can be disproved by the reason (प्रमेयत्वादि) which agrees with perception?

Pātrakesari replies :—

This is also wrong because from that very reason (प्रमेयत्वादि) we can prove the existence of some being able to perceive things which are minute &c. Things minute &c. can be perceived by some body by reason of प्रमेयत्व, सत्त्व, वस्तुत्व, just as स्फटिक &c. If it is objected that our view is fallacious on account of extremely invisible things, this objection is easily met by making them the subject of the minor premiss. It is said by Akalaṅka "Therefore in this way how can any person endowed with sense deny or doubt the existence of an omniscient being whose position is strengthened by such reasons प्रमेयत्व, सत्त्व, &c. ". The existence of an omniscient being who can perceive things minute &c. being proved by the removal of all possible objections, the reason under consideration [advanced by Akalaṅka] lends corroboration to the reason (प्रमेयत्वादि) admitted by Kumārila (पक्षेपगत) though the latter reason remains incontrovertible".

The word प्रमेयत्व is most interesting and important. Prabhācandra who defends Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkadeva against the attacks of Kumārila makes the illustrious Mīmāṃsaka state his पक्ष thus :— यदप्युच्यते

सूक्ष्मान्तरीतद्वार्थः ऋस्यचित्तप्रत्यक्षाः प्रमेयत्वात्पावकादिवत् तदप्युक्तिमात्रे ।

From this discussion there emerges the interesting fact that Samantabhadra who lived in the first half of the 8th century and his first commentator Akalaṅkadeva who was

1 This is a translation of the whole passage quoted from the *Aṣṭasahasī*, p. 66

contemporary with Sāhasatūṅga-dantitdurga (Śaka 675) were attacked by Kumārila and defended by Pātrakesari; and this fact was known to Śāntaraksita and Kamalasila. This subject is also fully discussed in my paper entitled the position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina literature published in the transactions of the Ninth Oriental Congress (1892).

In my second paper I have proved that Dharmakīrti, the predecessor of Samantabhadra and Akalaṅkādeva, is attacked by Pātrakesari and defended by Śāntaraksita. In my third paper I have shown that Śāntaraksita is frequently quoted by Prabhācandra: while in my fourth paper I have critically examined the text of Kumārila's verses which are cited by Pātrakesari. Śāntaraksita and Prabhācandra but which are not found in the Benares edition of the Mīmāṃsāsloka-vārtika and the Tantravārtika. These papers will be shortly published.

EPIC STUDIES
BY
V. S. SUKTHANKAR



II. FURTHER TEXT-CRITICAL NOTES.

The organizers of the new Indian project of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata are deeply indebted to both Geheimrat Lüders and Professor Winternitz not merely for their taking personally a keen interest in the scheme, but for their bringing the project formally to the notice of the savants assembled at the historic XVIIth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in August 1928, and moving resolutions conveying messages of appreciation and congratulation.¹ A singularly happy feature of this event was that this gesture of cordial sympathy and willing co-operation should have proceeded spontaneously from just those two veteran scholars who not merely enjoy the greatest amount of respect and confidence in the world of Indologists but whose names are most intimately connected with the earlier scheme of the International Association of Academies of publishing a critical edition of our Great Epic. It is a matter of high gratification to the members of the Mahābhārata Editorial Board that their modest efforts in the cause of Mahābhārata studies are being so keenly appreciated by their fellow workers in Europe, just as it is a matter of relief to the responsible editors that the general method and principles underlying the preparation of this edition have won the warm approval of the two eminent European critics² who have themselves made the closest study of the central textual problem and enriched the literature on the subject by the contribution of several valuable papers and monographs.

At the said session of the Congress of Orientalists, Winternitz read a paper entitled "The Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata", dealing with the history of the project from its early beginnings. Much of what Winternitz says in this

1. The text of the resolutions moved by Geheimrat Lüders and adopted unanimously by the Indian Section of the Congress has been published by Winternitz in *Indologica Pragensia*, 1. 63.

2. Cf. Winternitz, *ABL*. 5. 24, 30, and *Ind. Prag.* 1. 62, 67; Lüders, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1929 (Heft 24), Sp. 1137-1146.

memorable. ¹ of his bears the unmistakable stamp of being personal. ² by K. S. of his bears the unmistakable stamp of being personal. ³ was known, because he was the first scholar who more, also fully, years ago, at the XIth International Congress of ⁴ Kumārila held in Paris (1897), emphasized the superlative in ⁵ transac of a critical edition of the Mahābhārata and pro. ⁶ measures for its preparation. ⁷

After nearly thirty years of restless endeavour, he is again one of the small group of the first collaborators of the great and ambitious project. During 1922-3 he used his opportunities as a Guest Professor at the University of the poet philosopher Rabindranath Tagore to train some of his advanced pupils at the Viśvabhārati to do collation work, thus helping to establish there a centre for the collation of Bangālī MSS. of the Mahābhārata, ⁸ a centre which is still doing excellent work under the supervision of the Principal, Pandit Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya. Finally, Winternitz has taken over some of the editorial burden on his own shoulders by kindly agreeing to edit for the Institute one Parvan, the Sabhāparvan. This is indeed a very happy augury for the continued success of our cherished project.

To the text of his Congress address, which he has published in the first issue of his Journal, *Indologica Pragensia*, Vol. 1 (1929), pp. 58-63, Winternitz has appended (pp. 64-68) some critical remarks on my edition of the Ādiparvan. While expressing his whole-hearted agreement with the general principles underlying my reconstruction of the text, he has given a long list of passages in which he differs from me with respect to the readings of the constituted text. With unerring judgement he has picked out those passages in the first two adhyāyas that had given me most trouble, and he has criticized the readings of the constituted text, weighing the pros and cons with great acumen, and pointing out the errors and imperfections with much delicacy and courtesy. While tendering him my cordial thanks for the honour he has done me by making so close and penetrating a study of my critical work, I shall endeavour here briefly to answer his queries and criticism. I write these notes not so much to justify my selection and establish the readings of the critical edition as

1. Cf. also *ABR.* 4. 145 ff.

2. Annual Report of the B. O. R. I. for 1922-23, p. 11 f.

to set forth the reasons that have guided me in the choice of the readings in question and that may not have occurred to my critic—remarks which will not fail to throw some fitful light on the obscure and complicated processes which go to make up Mahābhārata textual criticism.

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MINOR QUESTIONS.

1. 1. 30: Winternitz observes that "in the notes the interesting remark of Arjunamīśra is given: *paramēṣṭhy atha iti prāyaśaḥ pāṭhaḥ*, but the actual reading of the Da MSS. is not given". The reading of the Da MSS. not being *specifically* mentioned, it must, in conformity with a tacitly assumed Paribhāṣā, be taken to be the same as the text reading, namely, *paramēṣṭhy atha*. In that sense the reading of the Da MSS. (i.e. of Arjunamīśra) has been given, and my note is both complete and correct, because both the Da MSS. collated for the passage do, in point of fact, read *paramēṣṭhy atha*.¹ Nevertheless, as I discovered on referring to the commentary once more, the note does not represent the facts fully and correctly, because the MSS. which are corrupt, being contaminated from the vulgate, had succeeded, for the time being, in completely misleading me.

That the true Arjunamīśra reading must, against the testimony of MSS., be assumed to be *paramēśvarah* (agreeing then with B2 D6-8 Cd) follows, with certainty, from the commentary itself, a fact I had overlooked when I wrote the note. The commentary runs thus:

मनुः प्रसिद्धः । कः वसिष्ठः । तस्य विशेषणं परमेश्वरः प्रजापतित्वात् । परमेश्वर इति प्रायशः पाठः । परमेश्वरी कथ्यपः ।

In the Foreword to Fascicule 1 (p. v), I have already drawn attention to the fact that "the (epic) text in the Arjunamīśra codices is frequently contaminated from the "vulgate" and has to be corrected with the help of Arjunamīśra's commentary." The examples cited there are 1. 1. 17b and 22b. In the former case, the Da MSS. read *puṇyām* (like the vulgate, with which the constituted text here agrees); the true Arjunamīśra

1. A reference to Prof. Lüders' *Druckprobe* (p. 6) will show that the (Devanāgarī) MSS. of Arjunamīśra's commentary collated by him (or his Specimen edition read likewise *paramēṣṭhy atha*; only in one instance has the reading been corrected (by a later hand) to *paramēśvarah*. Accordingly Prof. Lüders has also taken *paramēṣṭhy atha* as the reading of the version of Arjunamīśra.

reading is, however, *punya-*, as follows clearly from Arjunamiśra's own observation :

पुण्यग्रन्थार्थसंयुताम् । पुण्यो ग्रन्थार्थो श्रुतमात्रस्य ज्ञातमात्रस्य च पुण्यहेतुत्वात् ।
ग्रन्थो ग्रन्थमानः शब्दसमूहः । अर्थो वाच्यादिरेव ।

In the latter case (1. 1. 22 b), likewise, the Da MSS. read *śivam*, agreeing with many K and D MSS.; but the commentary shows (as I have pointed out in the notes) that the true Arjunamiśra reading is *śucim*, agreeing with the constituted text, *śivam* being only a variant mentioned by the scholiast:

अनर्थं निष्पापमनवद्यं वा । अनुपाधि विश्लेषकारकत्वात् । अत एव शुचिम् । शिवमिति
पाठे शिवं कल्याणं महेश्वरं वा ।

I must here add, therefore, a word of caution. In the critical notes published with the text, the readings as actually found in the (epic) *text* (in contradistinction to the commentary) of the Arjunamiśra codices have, as a rule, been taken to represent the readings of Arjunamiśra; the commentary was consulted by me only occasionally, in case of doubt or difficulty, or when a *pāthāntara* was noticed. It is, therefore, more than likely that, owing to the fact that our Da MSS. are conflated by contamination with various types of MSS., in particular with the Nilakanṭha type, a few errors of the kind pointed out by Winternitz may have inadvertently crept in. Such errors can be rectified only by working through the whole commentary, word for word, and comparing the lemmata with the (epic) text of the MSS.; even then one can of course be sure only of the words and passages actually cited and explained by the scholiast.

The version of Arjunamiśra, as I pointed out in the Foreword to Fascicule 1 (p. v), is closely allied to the Bangālī version. The reason for this affinity (as I have stated elsewhere) appears to be that Arjunamiśra was a native of Bengal.¹ Following the example of my predecessors, I have utilized, for the critical edition of the Ādiparvan, Devanāgarī MSS. of Arjunamiśra's commentary. The two MSS. I am using are extremely corrupt. In fact, all the MSS. of Arjunamiśra's commentary I have seen—and they are all Devanāgarī MSS.—have been remarkably corrupt. Not only that, the text they offer is, as already remarked, obviously contaminated from the

1. See my note on Arjunamiśra in the *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 565 ff.

vulgate. This corruption of the Devanāgarī MSS. I could not account for at first; but it must be due, I cannot but think now, to their being copies of Bangālī or Maithilī originals. It would, therefore, be expedient to procure and use, whenever possible, Bangālī¹ or Maithilī MSS. of Arjunamīśra's commentary, treating his version as an offshoot of the Bangālī (respectively Maithilī) version.²

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1. 1. 62 : Winternitz points out that the lengthy interpolation App. I, No. 1 = (B.) 1. 1. 55^{cd} - 93 is inserted in the R. A. S. Whish MS. No. 65 after 62^{ab}, and not after 62, as in most of the Southern MSS. used by me. But two of my MSS. (T1 G7) also insert the passage in question after 62^{ab}, like the Whish MS.; only between 62^{ab} and the Appendix passage, my MSS. further interpolate 29*, 64 and 30*, as stated in the very note cited by Winternitz. The point of insertion of this interpolation varied in the different MSS. Thus of the MSS. collated by Prof. Lüders for his *Druckprobe*, two (G2 [read G3] T2) read it after 62^{ab}, while two others (G2 T1) read it after 62; moreover, in T2 (of the *Druckprobe*) the inserted passage is preceded by 29*, 64 and 65 (somewhat like our T1 G7).³

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1. 1. 131 : The printer's devil, I regret to say, is responsible for the erroneous spelling *Saṁsaptaka-* (with dental *s*) in this stanza; the correct spelling *Saṁsavtaka-* (with palatal *ś*) is given at 1. 2. 56 and 160. Moreover, the various readings have been given only at 1. 1. 56, and, through some unfortunate oversight, omitted at 1. 1. 131 and 1. 2. 160. I make good the omission here. At 1. 1. 131 the various readings are as follows: K0. 2-4. 6 B4 Da Dn1. n3 Dr1. r3. r4 D1-4. 6. 7. 10. 14 T1 *Saṁsapta*^o; K1 B1-3 Dn2 Dr2 D5. 8. 9. 11. 12 T2 G (G1. 2 om.) M *Saṁsapta*^o; V1 *Śaṁsapta*^o; K5 D13 missing. At 1. 2. 160 they are: K0. 2-4. 6 V1 Da2 Dn Dr1. r4 D2-4. 7. 10-

1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal does contain some Bangālī MSS. (Descriptive Catalogue, vol. 5, Nos. 3371-3374, 3422), but it is very difficult to move the Society to send out its MSS. on loan.

2. That would also account for the frequent divergence of Da from the D class.

3. The passage is found inserted not only after 62^{ab} and 62, but also after 26, 53^{ab}, 59 ^{ab} (according to the *Druckprobe*), and 60.

14 T1 G7 *Samsapta*^o; K1 B Dal Dr2. r3 D1. 5. 6. 8. 9 T2 G1.
3-6 *Samsapta*^o; G2 *Samsapta*^o; K5 missing; M om.

From the readings of the three passages in question, it should seem that, anomalies apart, K1 (or the India Office Codex), Bangālī and Southern MSS. read it correctly (that is, with the palatal *ś*), while the rest of K agrees with the commentators in reading it with the dental *s*. The balance of probability inclines to the side of the palatal, I think, even if we restrict ourselves to the MS. evidence. C. V. Vaidya (*The Mahābhārata: A Criticism*, p. 159) speaks of them as the "7 clans who came probably from the Afagan (*sic*) borders," but it seems to me more likely that they got their nickname from the fact that they had bound themselves by an oath to kill Arjuna or die in the great Bhārata battle (Dronap. 17).

* * *

1. 2. 85: The spurious line (102*) *kūṭasya Dhārtarāṣṭreṇa preṣaṇam Pāṇḍavān prati* stands in the MSS. not before 97* (as Winternitz imagines and very naturally), but after 101*, as correctly stated in the critical notes. I have re-examined the MSS. concerned on the point and find that my note is perfectly correct. One cannot be dogmatic about the Mahābhārata MSS.; there is no knowing what they may or may not contain. The line was found only in six Nilakanṭha MSS. in Devanāgarī or Bangālī characters, collated for the first two adhyāyas. In all these six MSS. the line is found interpolated at the same place, the place mentioned in the critical apparatus (namely, after 101*), although all printed editions without exception place it elsewhere (namely, before 97*), which is no doubt the reason of Winternitz's remark. A note drawing attention to this patent discrepancy might have been usefully added in the critical notes. But I have found the printed editions so arbitrary and unreliable¹ that I have almost

1. The Kumbhakonam edition contains a misleading colophon after its adhyāya 100, which is not found in any MS. and is, moreover, unnecessary.—All printed editions contain the line (B. 1. 28. 4cd = K. 1. 28. 5cd)

gurur hi sarvabhūṭānāṃ brāhmaṇaḥ parikīrtitaḥ;

which is not found even in Nilakanṭha MSS. The note on 1. 74. 12 mentions a line (B. 1. 79. 13ef = K. 1. 73. 23 ab)

maraṇam kṣobhanam tasya iti vidvājjanā viduḥ;

which was not found in any of the 60 MSS. collated for that adhyāya!

completely ignored them in the foot-notes, which have necessarily to be rather brief and to the point. The meaning of this enigmatic line found in Nilakaṇṭha MSS. is as obscure to me as the cause of its transposition in the first printed edition. We need not inquire why the line occurs in the wrong place in the other editions as well, since the subsequent editors appear to have studiously and uniformly avoided consulting MSS. Winternitz could easily convince himself of the correctness of my statement regarding the point of insertion of this line in the MSS. by referring to the superb complete copy of the Mahābhārata in Śāradā characters, with Nilakaṇṭha's scholium, he purchased in Kāśmīr during his stay there.

* * *

1. 2. 102: Da Dn Dr do have *magnām* and *Draupadīm*, as found in the printed editions and as rightly surmised by Winternitz. This group has, through oversight, completely dropped out of the long list of MSS. that read *Draupadīm*, and I am thankful to Winternitz for drawing my attention to it. The correction will be duly notified in the list of Errata, which will be added at the end of the volume. In passing I may draw attention to the superiority of the K MSS., the only group which, as Winternitz rightly remarks, gives the undoubtedly correct rendering of the whole stanza; all other MSS.—even such as do not contain the interpolated line 112*—are in utter confusion.

* * *

MAJOR QUESTIONS.

1. 1. 129: *yadāśrauṣaṇi Śukrasūryau ca yuktau*
Kaunteyānām anulomau jayāya |
nityaṇi cāsmāṇi śvūpadā vyābhaṣantas
tadā nāśaṇse vijayāya Saṁjaya ||

This is indeed a difficult case, and I for my part doubt whether any definite decision can be reached as to how the stanza originally read. I must say, I cannot share the confidence with which Winternitz decides for the reading:

yadā Vāyuḥ Śukrasūryau ca yuktau,

which is mentioned as a pāṭha by Nilakaṇṭha and was adopted in the *editio princeps*. It is one of the eight rival readings and is found chiefly in the Bangālī version, and in MSS. and editions allied to or influenced by it. The combinations found

in the different MSS. may be arranged schematically as follows :

	<i>Vāyu</i>	<i>Śakra</i>		<i>Sūrya</i> :	Majority of N
	<i>Vāyu</i>	<i>Śukra</i>		<i>Sūrya</i> :	K1 + some D
	<i>Vāyu</i>		<i>Candra</i>	<i>Sūrya</i> :	Dn
(a) <i>śrauṣam</i>		<i>Śukra</i>		<i>Sūrya</i> :	Text (T G1.5.6)
(a) <i>śrauṣam</i>		<i>Śakra</i>		<i>Sūrya</i> :	Majority of M
(a) <i>śrauṣam</i>			<i>Candra</i>	<i>Sūrya</i> :	A few G
(a) <i>śrauṣam</i>	<i>Vāyu</i>			<i>Sūrya</i> :	D5(inferior MS.)
(a) <i>śrauṣam</i>	<i>Vāyu</i>	<i>Śakra</i>		<i>Sūrya</i> :	M1 (conflated)

According to Winternitz, the stanza refers to (B.) 7. 7. 34 ff. "where the line *vātoddhātām vajas tīram* etc., also testifies to the reading *vāyuh*, while *śakra* (= Indra) probably refers to the rain of pieces of flesh, bones, and blood." To start with I doubt whether Śakra could be held responsible for the "rain" of flesh, bones, and sundry other articles; but that is a minor point, immaterial to the present discussion. In believing, however, that our stanza refers to (B.) 7. 7. 34 ff., Winternitz is partly mistaken, as will presently appear. The important point is that in the opinion of Winternitz the stanza alludes to certain forces of Nature, certain elements, such as wind, rain and so on, which were favourable to the Pāṇḍavas and unfavourable to the Kauravas. The commentators Nilakanṭha, Arjunamīśra and Devabodha (with the readings which they had adopted or which were before them) have explained the stanza in a similar way. I hold a different view, however. When I selected the reading of the constituted text, I thought—and I still think—that in this stanza there is allusion not to the elements, but to some *astrological* factor or constellation—an allusion which was not understood by commentators and which I could not then fully explain. On reading the criticism of Prof. Winternitz, I therefore made a reference to my friend Prof. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak M.A., of Calcutta University, who has made a special study of Indian Astrology and allied sciences and is rightly regarded as an authority on these topics; and I was not disappointed. Having already worked through the whole of the Mahābhārata in special search of references which have a bearing on Astrology, Augury and kindred subjects, he could at once lay his fingers on the right passage, the prototype of our stanza, which throws a flood of light on the question, without however fully solving the riddle of the stanza, so far as I can judge. The said stanza, (B.) 6. 20. 2, reads :

[Dhṛtarāstra to Saṁjaya]

केषां जघन्यौ योमसूयौ सवायू

केषां सेनां श्वापदा व्यामपन्त ।

केषां यूनां मुखवर्णाः प्रसन्नाः

सर्वे ह्येतद् ब्रूहि तत्त्वं यथावत् ॥

While the connection between the two stanzas is patent and indeed unquestionable, the discovery of the prototype leaves, unfortunately, most of our real difficulties unsolved. The reading which agrees closest with that of the Bhīṣmaparvan stanza is that of the vulgate text and is found *only* in the MSS. of Nilakanṭha. These latter have Vāyu-Candra-Sūrya (lacking Śakra or Śukra altogether) like Soma-Sūrya-Vāyu of the Bhīṣmaparvan. Is the Nilakanṭha reading then the *original* reading? As I have pointed out elsewhere, we are apt to prefer, at first sight, the readings of the vulgate, which appear to be better than those of the critical text; but that is only because the text of the vulgate has been arrived at by the purging of the original by the continuous emendations of scholars for centuries.¹ It seems to me that there is a long history behind the reading of the vulgate in the present case also. Nilakanṭha had evidently arrived at it by an emendation, by collation with the prototype, because there is no indication of there being any MSS. before him which could have contained that particular combination. This fact may, perhaps, supply us with a clue to the labyrinth of the readings recorded in the critical notes for the line in question. An important factor is that Śukra (or Śakra), which persistently occurs in all the various categories of our MSS. and which must, therefore, be regarded as an essential feature of our stanza, is entirely lacking in the later stanza. This proves irrefutably that the combination of the former was not *identical*, in every respect, with that of the latter originally. That is an important point to remember. Winternitz is emphatic in asserting that *yadū Vāyuḥ* of the original was changed in S into the usual *yadū-śrauṣam*. This assumption does not seem to me to be at all well founded, because the very next stanza (130) begins *yadū Droṇo vivādhān astramārgān*, and here no attempt has been made in S (or anywhere else) to change the beginning into *yadūśrauṣam*. There are a few more stanzas (133, 140, 145) in

1. See my Epic Studies (1), JBBRAS. (NS.) 4 (1928), 157. A patent example of correction is *grhivā haraṇam propte* (in Devanāgarī MSS.) for *haraṇam grhya saṁprapte* (1. 2. 93).

this series which do not begin with the oft-repeated formula. It seems to me much more likely, therefore, that Vāyu was introduced into our passage, secondarily, by some early Northern redactor who knew the prototype and had noticed the omission of one of the elements in the prior stanza; precisely as Nilakanṭha, much later, appears to have further altered the line by changing the difficult Śakra (or Sukra) to Candra, thus equating the combination to that of the prototype. I therefore adhere to my original choice, explaining the genesis of the variants as follows. The stanza in question, which was suggested to the author of the *yadūśrausam* section by the Bhismaparvan stanza but was composed from a vague recollection of the original, began like the other stanzas of the series, and contained, moreover, an allusion to an *astrological* situation. Some Northern redactor (who had known the Bhismaparvan stanza and noticed that the first stanza did not contain Vāyu) then deleted (*a*)*srausam* and substituted for it the missing Vāyu, retaining, however, the original feature Śakra. The corruption of Śakra into Śakra must be judged as easy and even natural (in juxtaposition with Surya), in view of the famous episode of the Mahābhārata which narrates how Indra, disguised as a mendicant Brahman, begs for the miraculous ear-rings and the armour which had been Karna's from his birth and which had made him invincible. The emendatory activity of the early Northern redactor was continued by Nilakanṭha, who expunged the Śakra (or Sukra) which he found in his MSS. (and perhaps did not fully understand) and substituted for it Candra, thus equating the two combinations.

I am confirmed in the supposition that the original line contained only two agencies instead of three by the fact that no MSS. hitherto collated show *yukdāh* (plu.) for *yuktau* (dual) in the first line, as they certainly would have done, had there been three names in the original instead of two, as I have given.¹

The question then arises whether Śakra and Sūrya, as *grahas*, were at that time favourable to the Pāṇḍavas or, what comes to the same thing, adverse to the Kauravas. About

1. It should be noted that even in the explanation of Winternitz, Śakra and Surya do not make any *combined* effort. If the three elements wind, rain and sun operate all together for the success of the Pāṇḍavas, then *yukdāh* is indeed the correct word. What is the point of the dual, when the plural form would be even metrically equally suitable?

Sūrya I cannot say. But as far as Śukra is concerned, we may safely answer the question in the affirmative. My friend Prof. Ghatak has kindly drawn my attention to a stanza in Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* which, if *dyūtajirīn* may be taken to apply to the Kauravas, would indicate that at the time of the Bhārata battle the planet Śukra, which was then in the Pūrvābhādrapadā (cf. 6. 3 15), was in a position which augured disaster to the Kauravas and was therefore favourable (*anuloma*) to the Pāṇḍavas. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* reference (9. 34) supplied to me by my friend runs :

शतभिषजि शौण्डिकानामजेकपे द्यूतजीविनां पीडा ।

कुरुपाञ्चालानामपि करोति चास्मिन्सितः सलिलम् ॥

As Vāyu is missing in the whole of S except M1 (which latter is a conflated MS.), it can never be established that Vāyu is an *essential* element of the original stanza; on the other hand, (a) *śrausam*, though of course no less doubtful because it is documented also by only half of the entire evidence, is rendered probable, if not required, by the context. But I am prepared to leave the line as "less than certain," as indicated by the wavy line below the words in question.

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1. 1. 180 : *tava putrair mahattamūh.*

Winternitz complains that the sentence is "very awkward grammatically". To have called forth no less than nine attempts at emendation, the original must indeed have been most awkward. Winternitz prefers to read *tava putrair mahattarūh*, pointing out that there is not much evidence for the text reading. It is quite true that the text is weakly supported; but so are almost all the readings except that of the vulgate, which certainly cannot be considered the original reading, as it is palpably an emendation. The text is based on K1. 5 G5. 6 only. But Winternitz's reading is not much better supported; in its entirety it is found only in K3 M; because, of the MSS. which do contain the questionable *mahattarūh*, K0 begins the pāda with *teatputrair ye* and K4 with *tvatsutebhyo*. I submit, therefore, that the reading preferred by Winternitz is not better documented than mine. That is the first point. Winternitz then seeks to explain the variation on the ground that the scribes must have found difficulties with the

instr. putraih. Now the so-called *instr. comparationis* is very common in both epics and, I submit, that alone would not account for this plethora of readings in the case of a simple line with a perfectly obvious meaning. I know instances in the Mahābhārata text where this *instr. comparationis* has called forth no variants at all in the MSS., no doubt because it was felt to be quite normal by the copyists, editors and readers alike. The cause of disturbance in this case must, therefore, be looked for elsewhere, and that was principally, I think, the use of the superlative joined to the instrumental.

In settling the original reading, the question is primarily one of fact, of the actual MS. evidence, not of grammar. The Shakespearean "This was the most unkindest out of all" cannot be judged and emended by modern standards of grammar. It sounds harsh to our ears; but there is, I suppose, sufficient documentary evidence to prove or make it probable that the line as I have quoted it was in point of fact written by the author of *Julius Caesar* (who knew his English quite as well as, if indeed not better than, we do), consciously or unconsciously using what our purists stigmatize as vulgarism. The argument that a dramatist like Shakespeare could not commit such a blunder (if blunder it be) would be without cogency, when the MS. evidence supports the questionable reading.

The Mahābhārata, I may point out here, has suffered from the great misfortune of being always edited by learned Pandits, who were concerned more about the purity of diction than with the determination and preservation of the words of the author or the authors of the epic. One of the very worst offenders in this way was Pandit Böhlingk, who in the passages edited by him in his *Sanskrit-Chrestomathie* has "oorrected" away the few oddities of idiom and style of the original which had escaped the vigilance of mediaeval Indian scholiasts and editors and found their way stealthily into our printed editions!¹

1. In the *Paṇḍya-parvan* (Adip. 3) especially, his editorial activities are very much in evidence. He has not only introduced, with scrupulous care, the correct Sandhi wherever it was at all possible, he has substituted the correct *banddhum* for the (irregular) *baddhum* (I. 3. 21), found even in the printed editions and made many similar "corrections" independently of the MS. evidence. Most amusing, however, is his regular and systematic substitution of the correct form, as required by the Sūtra of Pāṇini, out of *etad* and *enad*, a rule probably unknown at any time to anybody outside a select coterie of Ācāryas of Vyākaraṇa.

The nine variants mentioned in the critical notes may be classified as follows. Readings

- (1) in which the comparison is emphasized
 - (a) by change of the superl. to the comp. :
 त्वत्पुत्रैर्ये महत्तराः । K0
 तव पुत्रैर्महत्तराः । K3 D14 M
 - (b) by a double change of superl. to comp. and of instr. to abl. (the "correct" construction) :
 त्वत्पुत्रेभ्यो महत्तराः । K4 (inferior MS.);
 - (2) in which the awkward instr. is done away with
 - (a) by changing the instr. into abl. :
 त्वत्पुत्रेभ्यो महत्तमाः । K2
 तव पुत्रान्महत्तमाः । V1
 - (b) by using the adj. predicatively (mostly in G) :
 तत्पुत्राश्च महत्तमाः । T2 G1-3. 4m. 7
 तव पुत्रा महत्तमाः । G4;
 - (3) in which the line has been recast (the vulgate) :
 तव पुत्रा इव प्रभो । K6 B D (mostly) T1;
- and (4) corrupt:
- तव पुत्रैर्महात्मनोः । D10.

It is an admittedly sound principle of textual criticism to give preference to a reading which best suggests how the other readings may have arisen, and it would be hard, I think, to find another reading which could explain all these nine variants more satisfactorily. Winternitz's choice, for instance, does not at all explain the origin of any of the readings which contain *mahattamāḥ* (superl.) such as 2 (a) and (b) and the text reading; because there is in that case nothing to be gained by changing the (supposed) original comparative into superlative.¹

En passant it may be pointed out that the so-called *instr. comparationis* is not a distinct category of the comparative at all; it is only a special case of the (Prakritic) coalescence of the instr. and abl. pl. (*metri causa*), an equivalence which comes out very clearly in such parallel phrases as :

नरः पापात्प्रमुच्यते । 1. 1. 198

1. Unless it be a scribe's error perpetuated through centuries or repeated independently in different places and times.

and

सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ।¹ 1. 1. 209 and 494*.

The latter does not mean "he is left by all sins" but "he is freed from all sins."

That the superlative is used in the epic in the sense of the comparative² may be seen from :

तेषां के योगविन्माः । Gītā 12. 1

न च तस्मान्मनुष्येषु कश्चिन्मे प्रियकृतमः । *ibid.* 18. 69

"Of these which are more versed in Yoga?" "Nor among men shall there be any whose service is dearer to me than his."

The superlative is normally construed with the gen. or loc.; but that it is construed sometimes also with the abl. may be seen not merely from the example last cited but also from :

अपि चेदमि पापेभ्यः सर्वेभ्यः पापकृतमः । *ibid.* 4. 36

"Though thou art of all sinners the most sinful."

Then the above-mentioned equivalence of the instr. and abl. pl. ushers in finally the construction of the superlative with the instr., which we find in the passage in question.

Formally the two constructions *tava putrair mahattarāḥ* and *tava putrair mahattamāḥ* are almost equivalent; but there may be just a slight difference of meaning between the two locutions. While *tava putrair mahattarāḥ* (comp.) evidently means only "greater than thy sons", the other clause (*tava putrair mahattamāḥ*) may have been intended to convey some such sense as "far, very much, greater than thy sons."

It may be finally observed that in dealing with the first two adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan (as in fact with the whole of the earlier portion of this Parvan) the critic should never forget that he has before him what Hopkins has justly called the "pseudo-epic": the poetasters responsible for the compilation of these passages are capable of the worst blunders of every description.

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1. This pāda recurs frequently in the Rāmāyana also.

2. These derivative forms have probably a merely intensive value, and do not necessarily and invariably connote comparison. The Prakrits frequently confuse the *tava* and the *tama* endings. It is further worth noting that a separate formation of the comparative and superlative is unknown to the Modern Indian dialects. The epics also sporadically furnish instances of the use of the positive in the sense of the comparative.

1. 1. 209 : *mahattvād bhāravattvāc ca.*

As Winternitz rightly observes, here the MS. evidence is almost evenly balanced. Moreover, graphically there is so little difference between the rival readings that we cannot expect much help from the side of the MSS., though it may be pointed out that their evidence inclines, if at all, just a trifle to the side of the text reading. Winternitz (*Ind. Ant.* 27. 93) admits that the lines (69*) *caturbhyaḥ* etc. and *tadā prabhrti* etc. are " quite superfluous. " When these lines are expunged from the text, as has been done by me, the line *mahattve ca gurutve ca* (of 208e) stands adjacent to *mahattvād bhāra* (of 209a). The idea of 208e is evidently reflected and repeated in 209a. Just as *mahattvāt* corresponds to *mahattve*, so *bhāra* should correspond to *gurutve*. This clearly shows, as far as I can judge, that the doubtful word (*bhāra*), which should be a paraphrase of *gurutve*, must be *bhāravattvāt* and not *bhāratavāt*. The latter seems to be an emendation made by some revisor who wanted to squeeze in somehow the significant word *Bhārata* into the context ; and, it must truthfully be confessed, it is a very ingenious emendation indeed. But as to which is the original reading there cannot be much doubt. The importance that Winternitz (like Buhler, *Ind. Stud.* 2. 9 f., before him) attaches to the circumstance that the verse is quoted in (our editions of) Kumārila's *Tantravārttika* with the reading *bhāratavāt* is wholly unjustifiable, and that for two reasons: firstly, because we have no critical edition of the *Tantravārttika*, and so we cannot be wholly sure of what the MSS. actually read at that place : and secondly, because, even if Kumārila should, in point of fact, have quoted the verse with *bhāratavāt*, it does not at all follow that this is *ipso facto* the original reading, notwithstanding that Kumārila's work is far older than the extant *Mahābhārata* MSS; because Kumārila may have cited the stanza from one or the other of the versions which contained (and still contain) that reading. Or again he may have known both variants and preferred, for reasons similar to those adduced by Buhler and Winternitz, the variant rejected by me.

The situation is somewhat clearer and the facts better capable of demonstration in the case of the other great medieval commentator Śaṅkarācārya. In many cases when the readings of the *Mahābhārata* verses and stanzas cited by him

differ from those of the Bombay and Calcutta editions, I was able to identify Śaṅkarācārya's readings in the Southern MSS. Being a Southerner, he had naturally studied and cited from the Southern recension of the Mahābhārata. It is quite clear that he was not going to work through all available MSS. and establish the original reading of the numerous Mahābhārata stanzas cited by him in the course of his voluminous commentaries. Therefore his citations, although of far greater antiquity than the oldest of our extant Mahābhārata MSS., do not necessarily give us in every case the "original" readings. Śaṅkara's testimony applies to and affects mainly the version or the recension used or cited by him; and that was probably the Southern recension in its Malayālam version. Even in the time of the Ācārya the Northern MSS. must have read differently in places, as they do now, because the divagation of the recensions must be assumed to be far older than the epoch of the great Vedantist.

I shall give only one example in order to clarify my meaning. 1. 1. 37 of the critical edition reads *yathartāṣṭṛtulingām*, agreeing with other printed editions and with the majority of the MSS. of the Northern recension. Śaṅkarācārya in his Bhāṣya on the Brahmasūtra (1. 3. 30; Ānandāśrama ed., p. 313) cites, however, the verse with the reading *yathartuṣṭṛtulingām*.¹ Now this reading is found only in Southern MSS. and in such of the Northern MSS. as can be shown to be contaminated from the Southern source, but not in any Kāśmīrī or Bangālī MSS. collated so far. Here it would be clearly wrong to cite the Bhāṣya as an authority older than our MSS. to establish the text reading as *yathartuṣṭṛtulingām*. The Bhāṣya citation affects directly the Southern version only, documenting that the divergent reading of our Southern MSS. is as old as (or rather older than) the time of Śaṅkarācārya; and that is all. It does not take us beyond the Southern recension, much less beyond the two rival recensions to the archetype.

When Winternitz further observes that "from the etymologizer's point of view" *bhāratavāt* is a "better" etymology, since with the other reading the *ta* of the Bhārata remains unexplained, he is bringing into the discussion an element of finesse that is quite foreign to the view-point of

1. Only one of the Bhāṣya MSS. has our text reading.

the Purāṇic writers, as will be evident from the following specimens of "etymologische Spielerei" culled from the earlier adhyāyas of the Ādiparvan :

(!B.) 1.30.7 = line 3 of 343^a (Garuḍa) :

गुरुं भारं समासाद्योद्दिन एष विहंगमः ।

1. 36. 3 (Jaratkāru) :

जरेति क्षयमाहुर्वै दारुणं कारुण्यं जितम् ।

1. 56. 31 (Mahābhārata) :

भारतानां महज्जन्म महाभारतमुच्यते ।

1. 69. 33 (Bharata) :

भर्तव्योऽयं त्वया यस्मादस्माकं क्वचिदादि ।

तस्माद्भवत्वयं नाम्ना भरतो नाम ते सुतः ॥

In view of these bizarre specimens, it would be extremely strange should a Purāṇic "etymologizer" light shy of sacrificing a *la*, if he, for the moment, could not think of anything better.

* * *

1. 2. 2 : *śuśrūṣe yadi vo viprā bruvataś ca kathāḥ śubhāḥ*.

I admit that my reconstruction of the line is not wholly satisfactory. The reading preferred by Winternitz may also not appeal to other scholars, as it does not wholly appeal to me. I therefore cite here the 15 different readings found in the 48 MSS. collated for this passage, of which one (D3), unluckily or luckily, omits the line altogether. The lines containing *ca* (to which Winternitz takes exception in particular) have been underlined for the sake of ready identification.

1. शुश्रूषध्वमथो विप्रा ब्रुवतो मे शुभाः कथाः । K1
2. शुश्रूषध्वं वचो विप्रा ब्रुवतो मे कथाः शुभाः । K2. 3
3. शृणुध्वं मम वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथां शुभां । K4
4. शुश्रूषो मम वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । K5 (corrupt)
5. शृणुध्वं मम भो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । K6 V1 Dn D15. 8-11
6. शुश्रूषा मम वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । B Da(Da1 corrupt) D13
7. शृणुध्वं मम वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । Dr D4
8. शृणुध्वं मम वै विप्रा ब्रुवतः सत्कथा शुभां । D2
9. शृणुध्वं मम भो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । D6
10. शुश्रूषाम वचो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । D7. 12
11. शुश्रूषा यदि वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च शुभाः कथाः । T G6
12. शुश्रूषा यदि वो विप्राः प्रवक्ष्ये निखिलाः कथाः । G2. 3. 7
13. शुश्रूषा यदि वो विप्रा ब्रुवतो मे कथाः शुभाः । M2. 4
14. शुश्रूषा यदि वो विप्रा ब्रुवतो मे कथाः शुभाः । M3
15. शुश्रूषा यदि वो विप्रा ब्रुवतश्च कथाः शुभाः । Text (K0 D14 G 1. 4.5 M1).

As for the doubtful *ca*, I may remark that, besides its normal use as a conjunction meaning "and", *ca* is very frequently used in the Mahābhārata (and the Rāmāyana) as an expletive, a pure and simple verse-filler (*pālāpūrāṇa*), without restriction of position, like *ha* and *vai*. It may occasionally have served as a particle of emphasis, stressing the previous word like *eva*. The second use is somewhat doubtful; but of the first, one can find scores of perfectly clear and certain instances in any portion of the epic, even in the printed editions. In the line in question, I consider, *ca* has been used in the first sense, as a mere verse-filler. Sporadically *ne*, which improves this awkward line ever so slightly, appears to have been substituted for it, independently in both recensions. The first half of the line was so uncouth that it was recast in the vulgate. There are numerous instances of lines being recast in the vulgate, as a careful study of the critical apparatus will show.

* * *

1. 2. 29: *gat tu Śaunakasatre te Bhāratākhyānaristaram |*
ākhyāṣye tatra Pāṇḍum ākhyānam ādītaḥ param ||

This is again a most difficult case, and, as Winternitz rightly remarks, "full of almost hopeless editorial cruces". The reconstruction would be, therefore, almost entirely a matter of speculation. Winternitz has rightly surmised that I regard the Pacvasaṅgraha as an accretion later than this stanza, which, in my opinion, belongs to a much earlier stratum of the text of the Mahābhārata. That *Śaunakasatre* in line 1 is a regular trap for the unwary. Misled by the printed editions, I had myself treated the words as separate at first, realizing only much later that in this adhyāya the Sūta is addressing not Śaunaka but the Rsis, among whom Śaunaka is not yet present. Śaunaka is not mentioned in the foregoing portion of the text except once, in connection with his twelve-year sacrifice in 1. 1. 1. In adhyāya 4, moreover, it is plainly stated that the Sūta first approaches the Rsis assembled in the Naimisa forest and asks them what he should narrate. The Rsis request him to await the arrival of Śaunaka. The latter, as soon as he arrives, asks the Sūta to relate the history of the Bhārgavas (adhy. 5). If Śaunaka was not among the audience in adhyāya 4, I do not see how he could have been there in adhyāya 2. Moreover, in the latter adhyāya the interlocutors are throughout stated as being the Rsis, while it is only from adhyāya 5 onwards that Śaunaka appears in this

rôle. It should, therefore, seem that the reading *Śaunaka satre* is not easy to understand or explain by any means. Or does Winternitz mean that it should be adopted as the *lectio difficilior*? It would be admissible, in my opinion, only on the supposition (which is not as improbable as it may at first sight appear) that the compiler of adhyāya 2, when he wrote stanza 29, had overlooked the fact that Śaunaka was not then among the audience. I have preferred to give the "poet" the benefit of the doubt and assume that the remark is addressed to one of the Rsis present.

Winternitz has misunderstood my reconstruction in some other particulars as well. *yat*, at the beginning of the stanza, is not a neuter pronoun but an adverb = *yatā*. The words *ādītaḥ param* offer no difficulties at all for interpretation; *ādītaḥ* does not mean "from the beginning," but "at the beginning" (= *ādau*); *param* = "excellent." *ākhyāsyē* must of course be supplied in the first line; but that is not difficult as it is the very first word of the second line. Therefore I translate :

"But when, during Śaunaka's (sacrificial) session, I (shall narrate) to thee the very extensive Bhārata Story, then shall I narrate, to begin with, the excellent Story of Pauloma."

Even a cursory examination of the variants given in the critical notes is sufficient to convince anybody that the stanza has been recast over and over again. With its history is bound up the history of the successive additions of the three episodes Āstika, Pauloma and Pausya, which appear to have been appended successively to the main text in this order. The stanza in question seems to have been written at the time of or soon after the addition of the Pauloma, but before the addition of the Pausya. The purpose of the line was originally not—as Winternitz imagines—to state all the episodes with which the Mahābhārata begins, but to authenticate the latest interpolation then made, namely, the Pauloma, by making the Sūta declare beforehand his intention of narrating that ākhyāna at the beginning of the Mahābhārata. The Āstika must have formed at that time the recognized beginning of the epic (cf. *Manvādī Bhārataṁ kecid Āstikādi tathā pāre* i. 1. 50), and the Pausya had not yet been added. This is the state of things the constituted text envisages.

A study of the critical apparatus of this adhyāya shows that the adhyāya is best preserved in the Southern recension;

in the MSS. group on which the vulgate is mainly based (namely, BD) numerous additional stanzas are found which are missing in S and K0. 1. 2; but even the three latter MSS. occasionally include some of such additional stanzas, which also nevertheless, since they are missing in S, may safely be regarded as interpolations. Of this character is interpolation 74*, which is found in almost the whole of N and which must have been made with a view to documenting the fact—or rather the fiction—that the Mahābhārata as narrated by the Sūta to Śaunaka was *identical* with that narrated by Vaiśampāyana to Janamejaya (cf. Nilakanṭha *ad loc.*). K0. 1 agree with S on the reading of this stanza except for the inclusion of 74* in the one and the addition of the name of the Āstika to the other. The text is formed by collating S with the inferable version of K before the addition in the latter of 74*. The subsequent steps leading towards the reading of the vulgate consisted in the addition of the name of the Āstika episode (which intervenes between the Pauloma and the beginning proper of the Mahābhārata), of a statement of the identity of the Sūta-version and the Vaiśampāyana-version, and finally of the name of the Pausya interlude, all these changes being made in our stanza with a view to setting the seal of authenticity on the three spurious additions. That adhyāya 3 must be an interpolation follows from the fact that it is wholly unconnected with the previous adhyāya and only loosely connected with what follows. Noteworthy is also the fact that adhyāyas 1 and 4 have the same beginning: *Lomaharṣaṇaputra Ugrāśravāḥ sūtaḥ paurāṇiko Naimiṣāranya dvādaśavārsike sūtre*! And in the text itself there is no explanation why after the Sūta has finished his narration of the Pausya episode, it is necessary to reintroduce the Sūta in the same words as approaching the same Rsis assembled at the same twelve-year sacrificial session of Śaunaka in the Naimisa forest. There is clearly a *new* beginning made in one of the two adhyāyas.

Since many of the intermediate links are missing in the MS. evidence, it is not possible to reconstruct the history of this portion of the text fully and satisfactorily; but that it must be reconstructed on the lines sketched above, I have no doubt. Accordingly the successive stages in the development of the reading of the vulgate (which is the reading preferred by Winternitz) I would arrange in a scheme like the following, in which the innovations have been printed in black type.

It will show among other things that the *vistaram* of the text and of the Southern recension is not "a remnant of *vistarārtham*' of the vulgate; on the contrary, in the latter the first line was filled up with *uttamam* when the original *vis'ara* was used in the interpolated stanza. The view of Winternitz that at least *Āstikam* must remain in the text is quite untenable; because if the stanza had *Āstikam* there is no reason why it should not have *Pauṣyam* as well. On the other hand, if *Pauṣyam* is not indispensable, then *Āstikam* could go with it as well.

Stage 1 (Constituted Text)

यत्तु शौनकसूत्रे ते भारताख्यानविस्तरम् ।
आख्यास्ये तत्र पौलोममाख्यानं चादितः परम् ॥

Northern recension.

Stage 2 (K1): by addition of 2 lines to the original.

यत्तु शौनकसूत्रे ते भारताख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
जनमेजयस्य तत्सूत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ॥
कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशो वीर्यं महीक्षिताम् ।
आख्यानं तत्र पौलोममाख्यानं चादितः परम् ॥

Stage 3 (Da D2-4. 13): by addition of आस्तीकं to stage 2.

यत्र शौनकसूत्रे तु भारताख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
जनमेजयस्य तत्सूत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ॥
कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशो वीर्यं महीक्षिताम् ।
आख्यानं तत्र पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम् ॥

Stage 4 (Dn Dr D1. 5-12): by addition of पौष्यं to stage 3.

यत्तु शौनकसूत्रे ते भारताख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
जनमेजयस्य तत्सूत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ॥
कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशो वीर्यं महीक्षिताम् ।
पौष्यं तत्र च पौलोममास्तीकं चादितः स्मृतम् ॥

Stage 5 (B): by addition of 1 line to stage 4.

यत्र शौनकसूत्रे तु भारताख्यानमुत्तमम् ।
जनमेजयस्य तत्सूत्रे व्यासशिष्येण धीमता ।
आख्यानं कथितं कृत्स्नं महाभारतमुत्तमम् ॥

कथितं विस्तरार्थं च यशां वीर्यं महीक्षिताम् ।
पौण्यं तत्र च पौलोममास्तीकं चादिनः स्मृतम् ॥

Southern recension.

Stage 2 (S): by addition of आस्तीक to the original.

यत्तु शौनकसूत्रे ते भारताख्यानविस्तरम् ।
आख्यास्ये तत्र पौलोममास्तीकं च ततः परम् ॥

* * *

1. 2. 46 : *mṛgasvapnabhayaṁ lataḥ*

Here again Winternitz prefers the reading of the vulgate (*mṛgasvapnodbhayaṁ*). It is clearer but, I must say, I am very doubtful about its originality. The MS. support for this variant is only slightly stronger than that for the reading of the constituted text. It is worthy of note that B, which generally sides with the vulgate, has here a third and entirely different reading: *mṛgasvapno 'bhavat lataḥ*! How would Winternitz account for that? I explain the compound of the constituted text as an irregular compound with inverted sequence, common in Prakrit (Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit-Sprachen*, § 603) and not unknown to the Low Sanskrit of the epics. Hopkins, *JAO S.* 20 (1899). 223, has cited two instances from the Rāmāyana: 7. 22. 36 *dṛṣṭō dandodyatāṁ Yamam* (for *udyatadandāṁ*) "like Yama with upraised staff"; and ibid. 7. 26. 2 *tulyaparratavarāsi* (for *parvatatulyavarāsi*) "glorious like the mountain (Kailāsa)." I accordingly take the compound in question as equivalent to *svapna(dṛṣṭa)mṛgabhayaṁ* "(Parvan) in which there is the fright of the deer (seen) in a dream" (cf. the compound *Svapnarāsaśadattam*). Yudhisthira, in any case, was not frightened: that is certain; but that the deer were, follows from (K.) 3. 259. 8, which Winternitz himself cites:

तान्वेपमानान्वित्रस्तान्दीजमात्रावशेषितान् ।
मृगान्दृष्ट्वा सुदुःखातो धर्मराजो युधिष्ठिरः ॥

The readings of the vulgate and the Bangālī version seem to represent different attempts at emendation of the irregular compound which stood originally in the Northern recension and which was perhaps misunderstood, if it was not totally unintelligible. The wavy line below the pāda was called for also by the variant reading of S, which has *parva* (or *tataḥ*) *pratyopaveśanam*. This refers to an entirely different section of

the narrative, the name being derived from the vow of fasting taken by Duryodhana.

* * *

1. 2. 89 : *tathā rājyārdhaśūsanam.*

The variants are °śūsanam, lambhanam, °sarjanam' (vulgate), °mārgṇam, °pūdanam, °tāpanam ! If *rājyārdhasarjanam* corresponds better to one portion of the contents of Ādip. 207, °śūsanam may be said to correspond better to a subsequent portion of the same adhyāya : °sarjanam was followed by °śūsanam. Intrinsically there is not much to choose between the two. The sub-parvan name is really something quite different : *rājya-lambha* or °*tābha*, which has given rise to the reading of K3 *rājyārdhalambhanam*. The reading preferred by Winternitz is found only in the vulgate group supported by four Southern MSS. G4, 5 M1. 3. The text reading was adopted on the direct testimony of K0. 6 D2 G1. 6, but it has the partial support of T2 and of two K MSS. (K1. 2), one of which is the important India Office codex (K1). These MSS. (K1. 2) read as a matter of fact *rājyārdhaśūsanam*, but the *nu* of these MSS. is obviously wrong (perhaps representing a mislection of the ligature *rdha*), being opposed by the remainder of the MS. material collated and conveying no satisfactory sense. There appears to be an agreement between independent versions on the reading °*sarjanam*, but the concord, I believe, is only apparent, being due to the conflation of MSS. That G4. 5 are contaminated from some late Northern source, I think, I have established with tolerable certainty in the note on 1. 20. 1 ; the conclusion is corroborated by many less certain instances where these MSS. (along with G1. 2) agree with Northern MSS. against other Southern MSS., and the agreement cannot be regarded as one derived from their connection through the archetype.¹ That further G7 and M1 are not reliable representatives of the Grantha and the Malayālam versions respectively, I have already pointed out in the Foreword to Fascicule 1 (p. v). There remains only one other MS. (M3), which represents a moderately pure (Malayālam) tradition and must have acquired its °*sarjanam*, secondarily, through some complicated infiltration of the reading of the vulgate.

1. For instance, cf. v. 1. 1. 5. 26 (220°), 13. 34 (255°); 20. 15.

In this instance, we have, moreover, a complex cross-agreement between the different versions.

°śāsanam: K0. 1. 2 D2 + T2 G1. 6

°sarjanam: Vulgate (B D) + G4. 5 M1. 3

Graphically there is no connection between the conflicting readings. The reading of the vulgate is found in only one MS. of the K group (K4), an inferior conflated MS. It will thus be seen that the MS. evidence is utterly confused. That being so, I have adopted the reading °śāsanam, giving preference to the side on which the majority of K stand, according to a principle enunciated in the Foreword to Fascicule 1 (p. vii).

* * *

1. 2. 96: In the Editorial Note appended to Fascicule 3, I have given my reasons for selecting 7984 as the figure representing the number of ślokas in the Ādiparvan. That is the figure given by the India Office MS. (K1) and corroborated by the Śāradā codex (Ś1). It may, therefore, be regarded as the extent of the Śāradā version at any rate. I consider, as I have frequently stated, the Śāradā (Kāśmirī) version the best version now preserved, and my edition of the Ādiparvan is based mainly (though not wholly) on this version.

I fully agree with Winternitz (*op. cit.* p. 61) that the Parvasaṃgraha argument is necessarily of secondary importance and should not be pressed too far.¹ Be that as it may, it is extremely problematic whether we could make any use whatsoever of the Parvasaṃgraha enumeration in the case of the Ādiparvan at least, because it will be difficult to compute the exact extent of this Parvan, and that for two reasons. Firstly, because this Parvan, as is well known, contains two lengthy prose adhyāyas (3 and 90); and it is difficult to say

1. The exaggerated importance Utgikar attached to the data of the Parvasaṃgraha was, I believe, mainly due to his erroneous belief (induced probably by the misleading character of the text of the Kumbhakonam edition) that the Northern and Southern MSS. agreed completely with each other in all material particulars for this adhyāya. The Kumbhakonam edition, which claims to be an edition "mainly based on the South Indian texts", presents a text of this adhyāya which is almost identical with that of the Calcutta and Bombay editions, taking no notice of the Southern divergences, while in other sections of the epic it introduces numerous innovations which are based on the Southern tradition.

now how the extent of the prose sections was computed by the compilers of the *Parvasaṅgraha*; our section-numbers certainly can give no indication of the extent in "Ślokas."¹ Secondly, this *Parvan* also contains a large number of Tristubh-Jagati stanzas, which again introduce an element of uncertainty in the computation. Was each Tristubh-Jagati stanza counted as one "Śloka" or did the *Bhāratacintakas* compute the exact equivalent of these long-metre stanzas in "Ślokas"? No definite answer is possible as yet. The difference in the reckoning will be, however, between 40 and 50 per cent of the total. As a very rough estimate, the *Ādiparvan* may contain something like 500 long-metre stanzas. This factor alone would then introduce a difference of a little less than 250 "Ślokas" in the total!

We must, moreover, not lose sight of the fact that the reading of the number itself is never entirely free from doubt, since the MSS., as Winternitz remarks, differ sometimes quite essentially in the *Parvasaṅgraha* itself; the figures differ not by units or tens, but by hundreds, and even thousands in extreme cases.² There can be no doubt, as I have pointed out elsewhere, that the text of the *Parvasaṅgraha* has been tampered with and designedly altered, in various ways, in order to make it harmonize with the inflated versions of a later epoch.³

These are some of the difficulties in the way of making any practical use of the figures recorded in the *Parvasaṅgrahaparvan* for fixing the text of the *Mahābhārata*. The computations may have some value for a *Parvan* in which there is no prose at all, which is almost wholly in Anuṣṭubh metre, and for which finally the *Parvasaṅgraha* figure is tolerably certain.

It is quite within the range of probability, as far as I can judge now, that the extent of the critical text of a *parvan* may

1. The lengths of the prose sections must have been computed on the basis of 32 akṣaras to a śloka, but such a computation in the case of long prose sections can be only approximate.

2. Thus for the *Virāṭaparvan*, the Northern figure is 2050, the Southern 3500, the difference therefore is 1450 ślokas.

3. Cf. the Editorial Note (2) appended to Fascicule 3 (p. iii).

fall appreciably below or rise appreciably above the figure recorded in the second adhyāya, as is actually the case with about half the number of Parvans in the Calcutta, Bombay and Kumbhakonam editions when checked up with the figures given in their respective Parvasaṅgrahas.¹ Moreover, unless it can be made probable that the compilation of this "Table of Contents" is nearly synchronous with the final redaction of the Great Epic, this discrepancy will be without any cogency in questions relating to the constitution of the text. The value of a MS. or a version cannot be said to depend exclusively or even mainly upon its agreement with or discrepancy from the data of the Parvasaṅgraha. It must, in the last analysis, be regarded as depending upon some intrinsic criteria, upon the place it occupies in a logical and convincing scheme formulated to explain satisfactorily the evolution of the different extant versions and types of Mahābhārata MSS.

It should further be carefully borne in mind² that even if there is an exact agreement as to extent between a constituted text and the Parvasaṅgraha, this fact alone is no guarantee of the originality and the absolute correctness of the entire text, line for line; because the same number of stanzas could be made up in innumerable different ways by accepting or rejecting, hesitatingly, stanzas of doubtful authenticity and uncertain documentation, of which there will always be a plentiful supply in every Parvan.³ The difficulty will finally not be solved even if we happen to light upon a unique MS. which agrees with the Parvasaṅgraha exactly and we should adopt its text verbatim; because there is every probability that while it satisfies the one criterion of extent given by the Parvasaṅgraha, it may not satisfy, in every respect, other and more exacting critical tests when compared, line by line and word by word, with other extant MSS.

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1. The actual number of slokas falls below the Parvasaṅgraha figure in the following 10 Parvans: *Adi*, *Udyoga*, *Bhīṣma*, *Saṃvita*, *Sānti*, *Anuśāsana*, *Aśvamedhika*, *Aśramavāsika*, *Mausala* and *Mahāprasthānika*; while it rises above the other figure in the following 8 Parvans: *Sabha*, *Aranya*, *Virāṭa*, *Drona*, *Karna*, *Salya*, *Stri*, and *Svargārohaṇa*.

2. See Winternitz, *ABJ.* 5. 25.

1. 2. 105 : *paurāṇugamaṇaṁ curva dharmaputrasya dhīmataḥ.*

Winternitz is mistaken in thinking that the line is missing in the *whole* of K : it is missing in only two MSS. of the group, albeit the best MSS. These MSS. (K0 1) are, however, by no means infallible, as a careful study of the apparatus will show. Their evidence is, therefore, rebuttable and not conclusive. In this instance, not only does the line occur in the rest of N, but there is a corresponding line in S. I cannot think that the two lines :—

Text : *paurāṇugamaṇaṁ curva dharmaputrasya dhīmataḥ*
 S(except M1): *paurāṇukampaṁurvedo dharmarājasya dhīmataḥ*
 could have arisen *wholly* independently of each other. Even though the purport of the lines is different, the *construction* is identical, which is a very important point in its favour. Either these lines are connected through the archetype, or else there is wholesale contamination between S and N except K0. 1. The latter contingency being improbable in the extreme, we are led to conclude that there must have been a line of that description in the original; only its precise reading is doubtful; the doubtful words have accordingly been indicated in the usual manner.

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The problem of the Mahābhārata textual criticism, as I have pointed out already, is a problem *sui generis*. Here the principles of textual reconstruction, which must first be evolved from a study of the MS. material and the MS. tradition, can be considered as finally settled only after considerable discussion and exchange of ideas on the subject. I would, therefore, earnestly request Prof. Winternitz to continue his searching and exhaustive examination of the fascicules as they are issued and publish periodically the results of his scrutiny, a proceeding which cannot but throw much-needed light on at least some of the difficult problems the editors have to face, and thus advance the cause of Mahābhārata studies.

MISCELLANEA

MADHUSŪDANA SARASVATĪ : HIS LIFE AND WORKS : A REJOINDER

A note of mine on a paper of Mr. P. C. Divanji on the life and works of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī (*Annals*, Vol. IX, pp.309-12) has evoked a reply from him (*Op. cit.* pp. 313 ff.) in which he has questioned the accuracy of some of the statements contained in my note. The questions raised by Mr. Divanji broadly resolve themselves into three (*Op. cit.* pp. 318-9) :— (1) the authorship and age of the *Vaidhakarvāda-mīmāṃsā*, (2) the exact location of Kotālipādā and, (3) the proper name of Avilamba Sarasvatī.

Some minor points raised by Mr. Divanji, *e. g.* the correct form of the name *Kotālipādā* and the authority for the statement that *Kotālipādā* was an ancient site, would not have arisen at all were Mr. Divanji been supplied with a corrected proof of my note and not merely with a typed copy of it.

Kotālipādā is the correct Bengali form, the Bengali pronunciation of *Kotālipādā* being *Kotāla*. But Kotwālipārā is the form adopted by the local Post-Office. The reference to recent researches by virtue of which the place is regarded as an ancient site has been quoted in the footnote of p. 311.

I should now give my remarks on the three points raised by Mr. Divanji one after another.

The statement that the *Vaidhakarvāda-mīmāṃsā* is a modern work composed by a well-known Pandit Haridāsa Siddhānta-vāgiśa (and not Vidyāvāgiśa as Mr. Divanji puts it) of Haricarana Catuspāthī (P. O. Nakipur, Dt. Khulna) is made by me on the strength, not only, of what I heard from the Pandit but also of a letter that he wrote to me several years back. The work has not yet been published and is therefore to be found in a manuscript which unfortunately is in a worm-eaten condition as the author informs me.

The authenticity of the statement may as well be verified by a reference to the said Pandit, who is now settled in Calcutta.

Kotālipādā is still a Paraganā with a Police station and a Sub-Registrar's office and though, at present, included in the district of Faridpur lies on the border of the two adjacent

districts of Faridpur and Barisal. It is fairly distant from the district town of Faridpur to be called its suburb. It was originally included within Candradvīpa and even fifty years back formed part of the district of Barisal. The statements of old school scholars who care 'more for poetic cadence than anything else should be taken with proper caution in these matters.

The third point raised by Mr. Divanji is, of course, the most important. I do not know the nature and weight of the authority on which the editor of the *Vedāntakalpalatīkā* (Saraswati Bhavan Series, Benares) depended in associating the title Avilamba Sarasvatī with Yādavānanda, who had the title *Nyāyācārya*. But that he has made a confusion is clear from his hopeless combination of Yādavānanda and Mādhava. It is inconceivable how the same man came to be known both as Yādava and Mādhava.

On the other hand, Mādhavānanda Avilamba Sarasvatī is the full name of the son of Yādavānanda Nyāyācārya given in the *Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*¹ (History of the Castes and Creeds of Bengal) of Mr. Nagendranath Vasu, who compiled the work after consulting all available materials.

Further, the descendants of Yādavānanda Nyāyācārya have three well-known sub-divisions tracing their lineage from three sons of Yādavānanda *viz.* Mādhava Avilamba, Viśvanātha and Raghunātha.

This is a fact known almost to every member of the line.²

This clearly goes against the identification of Avilamba with Yādavānanda. I do not know from what source the editor of the *Vedānta-kalpalatīkā* drew his information which takes no heed of a well-known fact.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

1. *Vaṅger Kanda*, p. 139.

2. I myself belong to the line of Mādhava Avilamba.

A NOTE ON RATHIYA-PURUṢA

On p. 156 of the *Annals*, Vol. X (i-ii), Mr. P. V. Kane pointed out that the English expression, 'man in the street' has a counterpart in the Sanskrit word, *rathyāpuruṣa*,—a striking instance of idiomatic similarity. I would now give several other cases where *rathyāpuruṣa* has been used, besides those mentioned by Mr. Kane and A. B. G. (Prof. Gajendragadkar)

(1) *Nyāyabindu* (Bib. Buddhica), p. 88

तथा संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मादयश्च । यथा रागादिमानयं वचनाद्रथ्यापुरुषवत् । मरणधर्मायं पुरुषो रागादिमत्त्वादथ्यापुरुषवत् । अथर्वज्ञोऽयं रागादिमत्त्वादथ्यापुरुषवदिति । III. 126.

Also in the *Nyāyabīnūtīkā* (B. B.), p. 88., V. 9, 11 and 13 in the above connection—

(2) *Hetutattvapadeśa* (in Tibetan translation).¹

(a) एवं संदिग्धसाध्यधर्मो । दृष्टान्ताभासो यथा धर्मापुनः कश्चिद्वागादिमान वचना-
द्रथ्यापुरुषवदिति । रथ्यापुरुषे दृष्टान्ते रागादिमत्त्वं साध्यधर्मं परिचिन्त्य दृष्टिगमत्त्वात् ।

संदिग्धसाधनधर्मो यथा मरणधर्मापुन इति साध्ये रागादिमत्त्वादिति हेतु रथ्या-
पुरुषे दृष्टान्ते संदिग्धः ... संदिग्धोभयधर्मो दृष्टान्ताभासो यथा धर्मा कश्चित् पुरुषोऽसर्वज्ञ इति
साध्ये रागादिमत्त्वादिति हेतु , रथ्यापुरुषदृष्टान्ते साध्यं साधनं च संदिग्धम् ।

(b) तत्र अनन्वयो यथा यो वक्ता स रागादिमान् रथ्यापुरुषवत् ।

(3) *Parīkṣāmukhaśāhuvṛtti*. Commentary on the
Parīkṣāmukhasūtra (Bib. Ind.), p. 19.

अथेदमस्त्येव विवादापत्तः पुरुषो नाज्ञेयज्ञः वक्तृत्वात् पुरुषत्वात् पाण्यादिमत्त्वाच्च
रथ्यापुरुषवदिति ।

(4) *Pramāṇamīmāṃsā* (*Mānikyaṇḍa-Digambara-Jaina-Granthamālā*, No. 10), p. 63.

रागादिमान् सुगतो वक्तृत्वादित्यत्र रथ्यापुरुषवदिति संदिग्धसाध्यं रथ्यापुरुषं साध्यस्य
प्रत्यक्षेणानिश्चयात् , etc .

1. The work is lost in its original Sanskrit form, but is extant in Tibetan translation. (Tanjur, Mdo, Ce, fols. 344b 6-354a 3, Narthang edition). The Sanskrit passages are taken from my restoration of the Sanskrit text from its Tibetan translation. It may be noted that *rathyāpuruṣa* has been translated into Tibetan as *Lam-po-chāpi shyes-bu* (man of a great road)

(5) *Nyāyatīpikā* (*Saṃśāra-śāstra-Granthamālā*, No. 10) p. 14— ... अहं सर्वज्ञो भवितुं अहं निदोषत्वात् । यस्तु न सर्वज्ञो नाहं निदोषो यथा रथ्यापुरुषः । इति केवलगत्येन लिङ्गकृतमज्ञानम् ।

(6) *Pramāṇasamuccaya*, (1 *Kaṭhāvataraṇabhāṣana* Series, No. 1,) p. 83 Sūtra 2. 1. 35

वचनादग्रे रागादिसंज्ञानेकत्वं किञ्चित्त्वयोः । संदिग्धसाध्यान्वयव्यतिरेकः
रथ्यापुरुषादयः ।

Rathyāpuruṣa occurs several times also in the *Vṛtti* on the above Sūtra.

(7) *Nyāyasūtra* (Bib. Ind.), p. 14 —

संदिग्धसाधनो यथा नाहं सर्वज्ञो रागादिमत्त्वात् रथ्यापुरुषवत् ।

See also *Nyāyatīparyatīkā*, pp. 142-143, where the word is used more than once.

From the above it appears that there were some stereotyped illustrations of fallacies current among the Buddhist, Jaina and Brahmanic logicians and philosophers. *Rathyāpuruṣa* was similarly a stock example, a *dṛṣṭānta* which, as Aksapada has it in the *Nyāyasūtra*, must be familiar to both the expert and the average man (*लौकिकपरीक्षकाणां यस्मिन्मये बुद्धिगम्यं न दृष्टान्तः*, NS 1. 1. 35). *Rathyāpuruṣa* may perhaps be also found in other treatises of Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist philosophers.

(ii)

A NOTE ON THE PRAMĀṆASAMUCCAYA

It is a matter of great regret that the writings of Dinnāga, one of the greatest of the philosophers that India has ever produced, are all lost in their original Sanskrit form. But it is mostly the views of Dinnāga (as well as of Dharmakīrti) that have been cited, though hardly with the mention of his name and treatise, by the Brahmanic and the Jaina philosophers in course of their repudiating the Buddhist standpoints. The extant Tibetan translations of his treatises as well as those of other Buddhist philosophers, apart from the fact of their being accessible to a few specialists, are so very terse and mechanically literal that they at times baffle all attempts at understanding. So the identification of any Sanskrit fragment with its Tibetan counterpart must always be of very great

value. It is therefore hoped that the following identification of two Kārikās in Dinnāga's *Pramāṇasamuccaya* (lost in Sanskrit but preserved in Tibetan translation in the Tanjur, Mdo, Ce, fols. 1-13, Narthang edition) will not be without some interest to the students of Buddhism and Indian philosophy.

- (1) gan tshe snan ba de gz'al bya yadābhāsaṃ prameyam
tshad ma dan dehi hbras bu ni; tat pramānaphalate
hdzin rnam rig pañi de yi phyir punaḥ grāhakākāra-
de gsum tha dad du ma byas. samvittyostrayam nātaḥ
prthak-krtam.

(*Pramāṇasamuccaya*, Tib.

tshad ma kun las btus pa, Tanjur,
Mdo, Ce, fol. 2b.4).

Quoted as a

Yogācāra view in the
Nyāyaratnākara on the
Ślokavūrttika the Chow-
khamba Sanskrit Series;
p. 159, also in the *Nyāya*
mañjarī of Jayanta
Bhaṭṭa, p. 540.

- (2) byas phyir sgra ni rtag pa dan krtakatvād dhvanirnityo
lus cau phyir dan gz'al' min mūrttatvād aprameyataḥ
phyir lus min phyir dan mūn Amūrtaśrāvanatvābhyām
bya las mi rtag mig gis gzuñ anityas cākṣuṣatvataḥ. ||
byaḥi phyir (*ibid*, fol. 5a. 5). Quoted in the *Tattva-*
saṃgraha, (Gaekwad
Oriental Series), p. 404.

(iii)

TWO QUOTATIONS IN TATTVASAMGRAHA-PAÑJIKĀ

Kamalaśīla's *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* is an elaborate commentary on the *Tattvasaṃgraha* of Śāntarakṣita¹ (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XXX, 2 vols.) which is an encyclopaedic work undertaking to refute the doctrines of almost all the rival philosophical schools from the standpoint of a Vijñānavādin Buddhist. The *Pañjikā* abounds in quotations from several Buddhist and Brahmanical authors but for which no trace of the works and personalities of some of them would have been left to us. The Tibetan and the Chinese translations have.

1. Xylograph reads *g'an*.

2. Śāntirakṣita is to be preferred. cf. JRAS, 1927, p. 862.
Erkenntnistheorie und Logik, p. 33 Cordier, Vol III., p. 456.

however, saved from utter oblivion the writings of many reputed Buddhist teachers. But these translations are sealed books to all but a few specialists and, therefore, their contents remain unknown and their value unappraised, until they are translated into some of our modern languages or hypothetically restored into their original Sanskrit form.

There are several quotations from Dinnāga in the *Tattvasamgrahapañjikā** and of these two (p. 582, ll. 10-12, 12-14) I have been able to identify with their Tibetan counterparts in the Tibetan translations of the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* (*dmugs pa brtag pa*) and the *Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti* (*dmugs pa brtag pa hgyrel pa*) of Dinnāga both of which are apparently lost in their original form. I also looked into the Tibetan translation of the *Tattvasamgrahapañjikā* and found the Tibetan versions of these two passages identical with those in the Tibetan translations of the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and the *Vṛtti* thereon.

The Tibetan versions of the two passages side by side with their Sanskrit originals are given below-

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. yad antar jñeyarūpam tu
bahirvad avabhāṣate ।
so'rtho vijñānarūpatvāt
tatpratyaayatayāpī ca ॥
<i>Tattvasamgrahapañjikā</i> ,
p. 582, ll. 11-12. | nan gi śes byahi no bo ni
phyi rol ltar snan gan yin te
don yin rnam śes ni bohi phyir
de rkyen nīd kyañ yin phyir ro.
<i>Ālambanaparīkṣā</i> , Tib. <i>dmugs pa
brtag pa</i> , Tanjur (<i>bslan-hgyur</i>)
Mdo, Ce, fol 180 ^a 6. |
|---|---|

It is to be noted that Śamkara has quoted the first half of the above *kārikā* in his *Bhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra*, 2.12.1128, without mentioning the name of the author or the treatise wherefrom he quotes. The current editions of the *Śamkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* read *had* instead of *tu*. But the latter is in agreement with the Tibetan version and also

The reading it gives in (d) is *dehi rkyen nīd kyañ yin pañi phyir ro*. This is evidently wrong; it contains 8 syllables while other pādas contain 7 syllables each. We have therefore accepted the reading of the *Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti*, Tib. *dmugs pa brtag pañi hgyrel pa*, Tanjur Mdo, Ce, fol. 181^b1 and this has been supported by the reading of the *Tattvasamgrahapañjikā*, Tib. *de kho na nīd bsdus pañi dkañ hgyrel*, Tanjur, Mdo, Ye, fol. 161^a 4.

* Prof. Tucci ; J. R. A. S., 1928, pp. 389-99.

seems to be a better reading, as the first *yad* is to be connected with *saḥ* of the third *pāda* which otherwise will remain unconnected. The Ānandāśram edition of the *Śaṅkarabhāṣya*, (p. 553, f. n. 3), however, notes a variant with *lu*. The first half of the *Kārikā* has also been quoted without any reference by Jayanta in his *Nyāyamañjarī* (*Vijānāgram Sanskrit Series* p. 178, ll. 14-15.) Jayanta reads it thus—

yad antarjñeyarupam *lu*
bahirvadavabhāṣate.¹

2. *athavā śaktyarpanat krame-
nāpi sōrthāvabhāṣāḥ svanu-
rupakāryotpattaye saktim
vijñānādhārām karottityaviro-
dhaḥ. Tattvasaṃgrahapañ-
jikā*, p. 583, ll. 13-15.

yan na nus² pa h̄jog phyir
rim gyis yin rim³ gyis kyan
yin te don du snan ba de ni
ran⁴ snan ba dan mthun paḥi
hbras bu skyed par byed
paḥi nus par nam par ses paḥi
rten can byed pas mi hgal lo.
Alambanaparīkṣā rlti, Tib,
dmigs pa brtag paḥi h̄grel pa,
Tanjur, Mdo. Ce, fol. 181b 3, 4

The Tibetan translation of the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* reads the passage somewhat differently from the above, but agreeably to the Sanskrit, thus: *yan na nus pa h̄jog phyir rim gyis kyan don du snan ba de ni ran dan mthun paḥi hbras bu...etc.* *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, Tib, *de kho na n̄d bsdus paḥi dkah h̄grel*, ibid, fol. 161^a 5.

Professor Randle in his 'Fragments from *Dinwāga*' (Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1926), p. 53, has suggested that the passage *sarvo' gam anumānūnumeya-*

1 Almost a similar line (*yadantarjñeyatattoam tad bahirvadavabhāṣate*) occurs in the *Sarvadarśanasamgraha*, (Government Oriental Series), p. 35.

2 *nus pa h̄jog phyir rim gyis yin* (= *śaktyarpanat krameṇa*) is the second *pāda* of the seventh *kārikā* of the *Alambanaparīkṣā*, which consists of eight *kārikās* only.

3 This portion is probably explanatory.

4 *ran snan ba dan mthun* is literally *soḥbhāṣanirupa*. So the reading of the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* (Tibetan), *ran dan mthun* which agrees with the Sanskrit, is preferable.

vyavahāro buddhy-ārūḥḍeṇ-aiva dhurma-dharmi-bhāvena na bahiḥ sadasattvam apeksate,¹ attributed to Dinnāga by both Vācaspati (*Nyāyavārttikatātparyatikū*, *Vizianagram Sanskrit Series*, p. 39 and p. 127) and Pārthasārathimīśra (*Nyāyaratnākara on Śloka-vārtika*, *Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series*, p. 258) "may be found in Dinnāga's *Ālambanaparīkṣā*, or in his *Vṛtti* thereon". Although it is a digression, it may be worth while to observe that the passage, being in prose, cannot *a priori* belong to the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* which is written in verse (*kārikā*), and also I have so far failed to find out its Tibetan counterpart in the Tibetan translation of the *Ālambanaparīkṣāvṛtti*. It being taken for granted that the passage is quoted from Dinnāga's writings on the authority of both Vācaspati and Pārthasārathimīśra, our search may be fruitful, if we have a look into the *Pramāṇasamuccayavṛtti*, because the rest of his treatises extant in Tibetan translations cannot contain the passage in question, some being metrical in composition and some dealing with topics incongruous with the tenor of the above passage.

It is interesting to note that the passage has been quoted in the *Syādvādamāñjarī* (*Arhatamalayaprabhūkarakūṛyālaya Poona City*), p. 145, as the opinion of a *Sūnyavādin*. But apart from the weight of the definite ascription by both Vācaspati and Pārthasārathi to Dinnāga, who was, as is well known, a *Vijñānavādin*, the sense of the passage being incompatible with the position of a *Sūnyavādin*, it cannot in any case be fathered upon any teacher of that school. Saṃkara also notes a similar opinion of *Vijñānavādin*: *tasmimīśva vijñānavāde buddhyārūḥḍeṇa rūpeṇāntastha eva pramāṇa prameya-phala-nyāyāhārāḥ sarva upapadyate* (*Sāṃkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* 2. 2. 28.)

Professor Stecherbatsky in his *Epistemology and Logic of the Later Buddhist Schools* (in German) has discussed the above unidentified passage. He, too has not as yet been able, to locate it in the works (in Tibetan translation) of Dinnāga, and remarks that it is possibly a misquotation. (*Erkenntnis-theorie und Logik* p. 28 and p. 270, note 46). So far as the philosophical position is concerned, there is no difficulty in connecting the passage with Dinnāga, but it is to be ascertained in what treatise of his and in what form the passage exists.²

DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI.

1. The passage has been read a bit differently in different works.

* N. B.—After the above note had been sent for publication in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* I received the *Journal Asiatique*, tome CCXIV, No 1-1929, containing the edition of the *Ālambanaparīkṣā* and its *vṛtti* by Dinnāga in their Tibetan-Chinese versions supplemented by a French translation, copious notes and index. I have used the Narthang edition of the Tanjur (*Vidyabhāratī* and the *Asiatic Society of Bengal Libraries*) for the two Tibetan passages discussed above, but they are almost similar to those of the printed text in the *Journal Asiatique*.

EXACT DATE OF DINAKARA'S COMMENTARY
GŪDHAPRAKĀS'IKĀ ON THE
UPACĀRASĀRA OF
MUKUNDADAIVAJŪNA

The *Upacārasāra* is a work on medicine in five chapters (adhikāras) composed by *Mukundadaivajūna*, son of Raṅga-nātha Gaṇaka. Aufrecht makes no mention of this work in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. The following MSS. of the work are in the Government MSS. Library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute :—

(1) No. 86 of 1907-15 (text only) dated Śaka 1736.

(2) No. 587 of 1899-1915 (text with commentary *Gūdhaparakāśikā* of *Dinakara*).

A third MS. of the work is in the Library of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay. It has been described by Prof. H. D. Velankar in his *Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS. of that Society*.¹ It is dated Śaka 1756 and contains the text of *Mukundadaivajūna* with the commentary of *Dinakara*. As regards the date of *Dinakara's* Commentary, with which I am concerned here at present, Prof. Velankar remarks : "The Commentary was composed by *Dinakara* at Poona in the 18th Century."

This remark is evidently based on the incorrect chronogram contained in the following verses quoted by Prof. Velankar :—

“ रवमुद्राश्वभूषाके बहुधान्याख्यवत्सरे ।
कार्तिके पूर्वपक्षे च चतुर्थ्यामिन्दुवासरे ॥ २ ॥
दिनकरोकरोक्षीका नाम्ना गृहप्रकाशिकाम् ।
पुण्यग्रामे यथामत्या स्वीकुर्वन्तु भिषग्वराः ॥ २ ॥

The chronogram “रवमुद्राश्वभूषाके” in the above stanza is incorrect as the letters “मुद्रा” make no meaning whatsoever. The correct chronogram is “खसमुद्राश्वभूषाके” as is given in the B. O. R. Institute MS. No. 587 of 1899-1915 mentioned above. This gives us Śaka 1740, i. e. A. D. 1818 as the exact date of *Dinakara's* commentary. The B. O. R. Institute MS. (No. 86 of 1907-15) which is dated Śaka 1736 and which contains the text only is a copy written three years earlier than the composition of *Dinakara's* commentary.

P. K. GODE

1. *Descriptive Catalogue*, Vol. I (1925), pp. 55-56.

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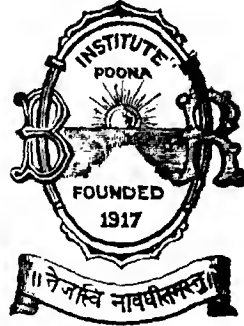
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Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute

VOL. XV]

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[PARTS I-II

GEOGRAPHICAL DATA FROM SANSKRIT BUDDHIST LITERATURE

BY

DR. BIMALA CHURN LAW, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.

INTRODUCTION

I. Scope of the subject --

The title of the paper is perhaps sufficiently explanatory to give the readers an idea of the subject with which it deals. In my book — *Geography of Early Buddhism* — recently published,¹ I have attempted to present a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from Pāli texts. Here, however, my attempt has been to follow up the same subject of investigation drawing materials from Sanskrit Buddhist texts. It is thus practically a supplement to my work just referred to.

Texts or narratives of a purely historical or geographical nature are very rare in the literature of the northern and southern Buddhists and whatever geographical information can be gathered are mainly incidental. The items, therefore, that go to build up the ancient geography of India are naturally scattered amid a mass of other subjects, and can hardly present a general view. These items of geographical and topographical information require, therefore, to be very carefully examined and assembled

¹ Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 38 Great Russell Street, London, W. C. 1. 1932. Price Rs. 2, 90 pp. with a map.

together from a variety of sources — literary, epigraphic, monumental and traditional — before we can present a complete geographical picture of Buddhist India.

II. *Sources: their nature and value* — Of literary sources for a systematic exposition of geography of Buddhism, Pāli literature, is undoubtedly the most important, for 'the localities mentioned in the Pāli writings (even in the Jātakas) belong for the most part to the real world; the cities of fiction, so abundant in Sanskrit literature appear but little, if at all.'¹ From a time when Indian history emerges from confusion and uncertainties of semi-historical legends and traditions to a more definite historical plane, that is from about the time of the Buddha to about the time of Aśoka the Great, the literature of the early Buddhists is certainly the main, if not the only, source of the historical and geographical information of ancient India, supplemented, however, by Jain and Brahmanical sources here and there. Even for later periods when epigraphical and archæological sources are abundant, and literary sources are mainly Brahmanical or are derived from foreign treatises such as those of Greek geographers and Chinese travellers, the importance of geographical information as supplied by Pāli texts is considerable. But it cannot be said in the same manner of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as they are later in date and therefore their value is less than that of the Pāli texts, most of which are much earlier in date. Moreover, the information contained in the Pāli texts of countries and places, cities and villages, rivers and lakes, hills and mountains, parks and forests are more exhaustive and elaborate than that available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which are later in date. The limited chips of information available from the Sanskrit Buddhist texts are almost irritating in their repetitions, as, for example, in the Mahāvastu, or Aśokāvadāna, or Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, or Lalitavistara, or Avadānaśataka. Cities of fiction which are no part of the real world are abundant in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. Countries like Ratnadvīpa and Khandidīpa (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā), cities like Vāndhu-

¹ Prof. F. W. Thomas in his Foreword to my "Geography of Early Buddhism".

matl and Puṇyavatī, and mountains like Trisāṅku and Dhūmanetra are often mentioned. They admit hardly of any identification, and help only to add to the legendary element pervading most of the accounts of these Sanskrit Buddhist texts. These Sanskrit Buddhist texts, otherwise very important from religious and philosophical points of view, contain hardly any contemporary evidence of a historical or geographical character. Geographically or historically they speak of remote times; and these remote times are but the years and centuries of early Buddhism which is almost practically covered by the Pāli texts. The Mahāvastu-avadāna, an important Sanskrit Buddhist text, speaks mostly of the life of the Buddha in his former and present existences; the Lalitavistara and the Buddha-Carita Kāvya also refer to the life of the Buddha. The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kaṭpalatā gives a number of stories relating to former existences of the Buddha, while the Aśokāvadāna speaks of Aśoka and his times. They may differ here a little and there a bit more, but geographically and historically speaking they hardly do so on any essential point. It seems that very few Sanskrit Buddhist texts are important from our standpoint but they have a great corroborative value, and should have thus their share of importance. It is very often that they bear out the evidences of the earlier Pāli texts and help to solve the riddles and clear the obscure points presented by them. In several cases, though they are not many, they introduce us to new and independent chips of information, useful and interesting from a geographical point of view.

The Sanskrit Buddhist books were in fact mostly written from the 6th century onwards to the 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era. They contain the most important contemporary evidence so far as the religious history is concerned but geographically they speak of very remote times. This is somewhat amusing. For already by the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era, the whole of the Indian continent with its major divisions and sub-divisions, its countries, provinces, cities, rivers, mountains, etc., had become too widely known to its people. Contemporary epigraphic, literary and monumental evidences abound with information regarding many geographical details. More than that, Indians of those centuries had also planted their political,

cultural and commercial outposts and colonies not only in Suvarṇabhūmi (Lower Burma) but also in Java and Sumatra, Champa and Kamboj. Their priests and missionaries had already travelled to China and Central Asia, carrying with them, the Sanskrit Buddhist texts which we are speaking of. But it is difficult to find in them any idea of this far wider geographical knowledge and outlook of the times. Even the Indian continent is not fully represented in its contemporary geographical information.

III. *Divisions of India* — Sanskrit Buddhist texts give us no glimpse as to the size and shape of the country. For the conception of the shape of India we have, however, to turn to the Mahāgovinda Suttanta of the Dīgha Nikāya, a Pāli text and to the itinerary of Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller.¹ Nor have we any such conception of the world and the place India occupies in the system in the same way as we have in the Brahmanical conception contained in the Purāṇas and the epics. According to the Brahmanical conception the world is said to have consisted of seven concentric islands — Jambu, Sāka, Kusa, Sāmala, Krauñca, Gomeda and Puskara — encircled by seven samudras, the order, however, varying in different sources. Of these islands, the Jambudvīpa is the most alluded to in various sources and is the one which is generally identified with Bhārata-varṣa, the Indian Peninsula.

The Buddhist system also includes Jambudvīpa as one of the islands (i.e., continents) that comprise the world. It has a detailed description in the Visuddhimagga (Visuddhimagga, I. pp. 205-206; cf. Vinaya Texts, S.B.E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39 and Atthasālinī p. 298) and is mentioned again and again in various other Pāli texts. When opposed to Sīhaladīpa, Jambudvīpa means, as Childers points out (Pāli Dictionary, p. 165), the continent of India, but it is difficult to be definite on this point. We have references to Jambudvīpa in Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, as for example in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 67), the Lalitavistara (Ch. XII) and the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (78th Pallava, 9). According to the Mahāvastu Indian merchants made sea

¹ Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xix.

voyages for trade from the Jambudvīpa.¹ They were once shipwrecked; but living on vegetables they succeeded in saving their lives and came to an island inhabited by female demons. The *Lalitavistara* states that the Jambudvīpa is distinguished from three other dvīpas – the Uttarakuru dvīpa, the Aparagodāniya dvīpa and the Pūrvavideha dvīpa (p. 19). Uttarakuru is mentioned as early as Vedic times and is probably a semi-mythical country beyond the Himālayas, Aparagodāniya is difficult to be identified, but Pūrvavideha must certainly be identified with a portion of the Videha country the chief city of which was Mithilā. If that be so, it is difficult to understand why Pūrvavideha is distinguished from the Jambudvīpa which is supposed to be identical with the Indian continent. The *Lalitavistara* (p. 149) further states that the Jambudvīpa was only 7,000 thousand yojanas in extent, while the Godāniya, the Pūrvavideha, and the Uttarakuru dvīpas were 8,000, 9000 and 10,000 thousand yojanas in extent respectively. The Jambudvīpa was thus the smallest in extent, but according to Buddhaghosa, the Jambudvīpa was 10,000 yojanas in extent, and it was called mahā or great (*Su-mangalavilāsini*, II, p. 429). The evidences are, therefore, conflicting and do not help us in identifying the division with any amount of certainty.

Indian literature, whether Buddhist or Brahmanical, divides India into five traditional divisions. But the five divisions are not definitely and explicitly stated anywhere in Pāli or Sanskrit texts. A detailed description of the *Majjhima* or the Middle country is as old as the *Vinaya Pīṭaka* as well as the references to the *Majjhima* in the Pāli texts: but an accurate description of the four other divisions of India is not found except in Yuan Chwang's itineraries. The remaining four divisions, e. g., the *Uttarāpatha*, the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, the *Aparānta* or the Western country and the *Prācyā* or Eastern country are more suggested by the description of the boundaries of the Middle country than by any independent statement. The reason of the emphasis on the *Madhyadeśa* is very clear. As with the Brahmanical Aryans so with the Buddhists, Middle country was the centre of

¹ Law, *A Study of the Mahāvastu*, p. 128.

their activities and much attention was paid by them to this tract of land in particular.

Sanskrit Buddhist texts refer at least to three divisions of India, e. g., the Madhyadeśa, the land *par excellence* of Buddhism, the Uttarāpatha and the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The latter two are mentioned in name only, there is no defining of their boundaries nor is there any description of the countries or regions that constitute the divisions. Two other divisions, namely the Aparānta or the western and the Prācya or the eastern are not referred to even in name, but are suggested by the boundary of the Madhyadeśa which is given in some detail in the Divyāvadāna (pp.21-22). :

“Pūrvenopālī Puṇḍavardhanaṁ nāma
nagaraṁ tasya pūrveṇa Puṇḍakakṣo nāma
parvataḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |
dakṣiṇeṇa Sarāvatī nāma nagari
tagyāḥ pareṇa Sarāvatī nāma nadi
so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |

pāścimena Sthūpānupasthūpakau brāhmaṇagrāmakau so 'ntaḥ,
tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |

uttareṇa Usiragiriḥ so 'ntaḥ, tataḥ pareṇa pratyantaḥ |

The boundaries of the Madhyadeśa defined here may be described as having extended in the east to the city of Puṇḍavardhana¹, to the east of which was the Puṇḍakākṣa mountain, in the south to the city of Sarāvatī (Sālāvatī of the Mahāvagga) on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin Brāhmaṇa villages of Sthūpa² and Upasthūpa and in the north to the Usiragiri mountain³ (Usiradhaja of the Mahāvagga). According to the Saundarānanda Kāvya (Ch. II. v. 62), however, the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāripātra (Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhya. The description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa, as given in the Divyāvadāna, is almost the same as that of the Mahāvagga.⁴

¹ Puṇḍavardhana in ancient times included Varenda; roughly identical with North Bengal.

² Sthūpa is identified by some with Thaneshwar (Thūna of the Mahāvagga). CAGI. Intro. p. xliii. f. n. 2.

³ Usiragiri is identical with a mountain of the same name, north of Kankhal (Hardwar) I. A., 1905., p. 179.

⁴ Vinaya Texts, S. B. E., vol. xvii pp. 38-39.

Majjhimadesa of the Pāli text may be described as having extended in the east to the town of Kajāṅgala, in the south-east to the river Salalāvati, in the south to the town of Satakaṇṇika, in the west to the Brāhmaṇa district of Thūṇa and in the north to the Uśradhaja mountain. The Divyāvadāna differs only in the fact that it extends the eastern boundary of the Majjhimadesa still farther to the east so as to include Pundravardhana.

The Uttarāpatha or the northern division is referred to in name in the Divyāvadāna (p. 315) as well as in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (16th p. 19; 103 p. 4). The Dakṣiṇāpatha extended southwards beyond the Sarāvati river and the Pāripātra mountain and is mentioned in the Mahāvastu, the Aśokāvadāna, the Gaṇḍavyūha and other texts. The Gaṇḍavyūha, however, gives a long list of place names which are all included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

MADHYADEŚA

As in the Pāli texts, so in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts as well, Madhyadeśa is the country that is elaborately noticed. Its towns and cities, parks and gardens, lakes and rivers have been mentioned time and again. Its villages have not also been neglected. It seems, therefore, that the Middle country was exclusively the world in which the early Buddhists confined themselves. It was in an eastern district of the Madhyadeśa that Gotama became the Buddha, and the drama of his whole life was staged on the plains of the Middle country. He travelled independently or with his disciples from city to city, and village to village moving as it were within a circumscribed area. The demand near home was so great and insistent that he had no occasion during his lifetime to stir outside the limits of the Middle country. And as early Buddhism is mainly concerned with his life and the propagation of his teaching, Buddhist literature that speaks of the times, therefore, abounds with geographical information mainly of the Madhyadeśa within the limits of which the first converts to the religion confined themselves. The border countries and kingdoms were undoubtedly known and were often visited by Buddhist monks, but those of the distant south or north or north-west seem to have been known only by names handed down to them by

traditions. But with the progress of time, Buddhism spread itself beyond the boundaries of the Middle country, and its priests and preachers were out for making new converts. their geographical knowledge naturally expanded itself, and by the time Aśoka became emperor of almost the whole of India, it had come to embrace not only Gandhāra and Kamboja on one side, and Puṇḍra and Kalinga on the other, but also the other countries that later on came to be occupied by the Cheras, Cholas and Pāṇḍyas. The position of the early Buddhists as regards their geographical knowledge may thus be stated. They were primarily concerned with the Middle country, the centre of Buddha's activities, but even as early as the Buddha's time they knew the entire tract of country from Gandhāra and Kamboja to Vaṅga, Puṇḍra and Kalinga on one side and from Kāśmīra to Āśmaka, Vīdarbha and Māhismati on the other. The early Buddhists had not had much knowledge of these outlying tracts which are mentioned only when their incidental relations with the Madhyadeśa are related or recalled.

Boundary — Of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, it is only in the Divyāvadāna that there is any detailed reference to the boundaries of the Madhyadeśa. It may be described as having extended in the east as far as the city of Puṇḍravardhana, in the south to the city of Sarāvati on the river of the same name, in the west to the twin brahmin villages of Sthūpa and Upasthūpa, and in the north to the Uśragiri mountain. According to the Saundarānanda Kāvya (chap. II. V. 62), however, the Madhyadeśa is said to have been situated between the Himālayas and the Pāripātra (= Pāriyātra) mountain, a branch of the Vindhya.¹ The description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa as given in the Divyāvadāna is almost the same as given in the Pāli Vinaya text, the Mahāvagga. (Vinaya texts, S. B. E., Vol. XVII, pp. 38-39). It differs only in the fact that the Sanskrit text extends the eastern boundary of the Middle country a bit farther to the east - the Mahāvagga having the eastern boundary as extending up to the town of Kajaṅgala only - so as to include Puṇḍravardhana.

¹ This description of the boundary of the Madhyadeśa agrees favourably with that stated of the particular division in the Brahmanical Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras, e. g., in the Codes of Manu. (Cf. Geography of Early Buddhism, Intro. p. xx.)

It is, therefore, obvious that the Buddhist holy land had by the time the Divyāvadāna came to be written extended up to Puṇḍravardhana.

The Mahāvastu records a very interesting fact with regard to the religious creed of the Madhyadeśikas or inhabitants of the Madhyadeśa. They are all qualified as "Lokottaravādins" (Lokottaravādinām Madhyadeśikānām, Vol. I. p. 2), i. e., following a particular creed of Mahāyāna Buddhism known as Lokottaravāda. This seems, however, to be a coloured statement.

The sixteen Mahājanapadas and other important cities and countries of Madhyadeśa : Of the well-known list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas or big states¹ enumerated in the Pāli texts (Aṅguttara Nikāya Vol. I. p. 213; IV. pp. 252, 256, 260) the Mahāvastu has in a certain place the traditional record (Vol. II. p. 2, "Jambudvīpe ṣoḍaśabi Mahājanapadehi") but there is no enumeration of the list. A similar reference, but without the traditional list, is also made in the Lalitavistara (sarvasmin Jambudvīpe ṣoḍasa Jānapadeṣu, p. 22). The Mahāvastu, however, in a different connection seems to enumerate a list of sixteen states or Mahājanapadas. There we read that Gautama once repaired to the Grdhṛakūṭa hills at Rājagṛha and was honoured by both gods and men. He distributed knowledge among the people of Aṅga, Magadha, Vajji, Malla, Kāśī, Kośala, Cedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Sūrasena, Kuru, Pañcāla, Śīvi, Daśārṇa, Assaka and Avantī (Vol. I. p. 34). This list, however, differs from that given in the Pāli texts inasmuch as it excludes the Mahājanapadas of Gandhāra and Kamboja but includes Śīvi and Daśārṇa instead. The order of the enumeration is also somewhat different.

Aṅga — Aṅga is very sparingly referred to in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. The Mahāvastu (Vol. I, p. 120) however, refers to a legend of King Brahmadaṭṭa, king of Benares, who had once been born as Rṣabha, a bull, in the kingdom of Aṅga. Its capital

¹ They are :- (1) and (2) Kāśī-Kośala, (3) and (4) Aṅga-Magadha, (5) and (6) Vajji-Malla, (7) and (8) Cedi-Vamśa, (9) and (10) Kuru-Pañcāla, (11) and (12) Maccha-Sūrasena, (13) and (14) Assaka-Avantī, (15) and (16) Gandhāra-Kamboja. See Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 2-23.

was evidently Campāpuri mentioned in the *Aśokāvadāna* (R. L. Mitra, *Nepalese Buddhist literature*, later on referred to as NBL, p. 8) wherein it is stated that when Bindusāra was reigning at Pāṭaliputra, a brahman of Campāpuri presented to him a daughter named Subhadrāṅgī. Aṅga, as is well-known, is identical with modern Bhagalpur. The *Lalitavistara* refers to a script or alphabet of the Aṅga country which the Bodhisattva is said to have mastered (pp. 125-26).

Magadha — Like Aṅga, Magadha is also very sparingly referred to in Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There are some references to the kingdom of Magadha in the *Mahāvastu* (Vol. I. 34, 289 ; II. 419 ; III. 47, 90, etc.), the *Avadāna Śataka* (Ibid. pp. 24-25) and in other minor texts, but they have hardly any geographical import. The Buddha had, however, innumerable travels in Magadha in course of which he crossed the Ganges several times (Ibid). Ārya Avalokiteśvara is also said to have once passed through Magadha (Ibid, *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūha*, p. 95). The *Saptakumārika Avadāna* (Ibid, p. 222) refers to a large tank named Citragarbha in Magadha. According to the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 425) Magadha is described as a beautiful city with all kinds of gems. In the *Lalitavistara* (p. 20) the Vaidehikula of Magadha is referred to. The Vaidehikula was suggested by one of the Devaputras as a royal family in which the Bodhisattva might be born in his future existence. But he preferred to be born of the Śākya race of Kapilavastu. According to the *Lalitavistara*, the Magadha country seems to have had a separate alphabet which the Bodhisattva is credited to have mastered (pp. 125-26). The people of Magadha, i. e., the Māgadhikas or Māgadhakas are referred to more than once in the *Lalitavistara* (pp. 318 and 398).

But its capital Pāṭaliputra is more often mentioned. At the time of the Buddha it was a great city (*Divyāvadāna*, p. 544). The same authority informs us that a bridge of boats was built between Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra. Thera Upagupta went to the Magadhan capital by boat accompanied by 18,000 arhats in order to receive favour from King Aśoka. The Thera was, however, very cordially received by the king (pp. 386-87). There at the Kukkuṭārāma vihāra where King Aśoka had erected eighty-four thousand stūpas and caityas (*Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* : 69th

p. 6-7) Thera Upagupta divulged the most mysterious secrets of Buddhism to Aśoka (N. B. L. : *Gupakāraṇḍavyūha* p. 95). At the time of Susīma, son of Vindusāra, a beautiful daughter of a brahman of Campā was brought to Pāṭaliputra and presented to the wife of King Bimbisāra. This girl showed the light of intelligence to the inmates of the harem. She remained as a playmate and companion of the chief queen who later on gave birth to a son who became known as Vigataśoka (Div. 369-70, *Aśokāvadāna*, N. B. L. p. 8). The *Aśokāvadāna* refers to Pāṭaliputra as having once been attacked by Susīma when his younger brother Aśoka was reigning, but Susīma was overpowered (N. B. L., p. 9). The *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* (31, p. 3, 73, p. 2) refers to Pāṭaliputra as having once been ruled by a virtuous King Purandara. The *Mahāvastu* (III, p. 231) refers to a capital city named Puspāvati (*Puspāvati nāma rājadhāni*) which is probably identical with Pāṭaliputra.

Rājagṛha — According to the *Lalitavistara*, *Rājagṛha* is said to have been included in Magadha (" *Magadheṣu Rājagṛha* " - p. 246). It is referred to in the same text as a city of the *Māgadhas* (p. 239). It is described as *Magadhapura* or the capital city of Magadha (*Ibid.* p. 243) and was a *Mahānagara* or a great city where once Mātāṅga, a *Pratyeka-Buddha* was wandering. The ancient name of the city was *Girivraja*. The city was adorned with beautiful palaces, well-guarded, decorated with mountains, supported and hallowed by sacred places and distinguished by the five hills (*Buddhacarita Kāvya*, Book X, verse 2). It was much frequented by the Buddha. In the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 545), *Rājagṛha* is described as a rich, prosperous and populous city at the time of Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru. The same text informs us that in order to go from Śrāvastī to *Rājagṛha* one had to cross the Ganges by boats kept either by King Ajātaśatru of Magadha or by the Licchavis of Vaiśālī. It is obvious, therefore, that the Ganges formed boundary between the kingdom of Magadha and republican territory of the Licchavis, and that both the Magadhas and the Licchavis had equal rights over the river. The route from *Rājagṛha* to Śrāvastī was infested with thieves who used to rob the merchants of their merchandise

(pp. 94-95). It is interesting to note that Rājagṛha was an important centre of inland trade where merchants flocked from different quarters (Div. p. 307) to buy and sell their merchandise. At Rājagṛha there used to be held a festival known as Giriagrāsamāja when thousands of people assembled in hundreds of gardens. Songs were sung, musical instruments were played and theatrical performances were held with great pomp (Mahāvastu, Vol. III, p. 57).

In and around the city of Rājagṛha there was a number of important localities hallowed by the history of their associations with the Buddha and Buddhism. They were the Venuvana on the side of the Kalandakanivāpa, the Nāradagrāma, the Kukkuṭārāma-vihāra, the Grdhrakūṭa hill, the Yaśṭivana, the Uruvilvagrāma, the Prabhāsavana on the Grdhrakūṭa hill, the Kolitagrāma, etc. The Venuvana is repeatedly mentioned (e. g. in the Avadānaśatakam and elsewhere) as it was a very favourite haunt of the Buddha. The Bhadrakalpāvadāna (N. B. L., p. 45) refers to the Nāradagrāma while the Mahā-sahasra-Pramardini refers (N. B. L., p. 166) to the Prabhāsavana on the Grdhrakūṭa hill. The Grdhrakūṭa hill is also repeatedly

Prabhāsavana
Grdhrakūṭa hill mentioned, and the Buddha used to dwell here most often when he happened to visit Rājagṛha.¹ The scene of most of the later Sanskrit Buddhist texts is also laid on the Grdhrakūṭa hill (e. g., of the Prajñāpāramitā Astasāhasrikā, the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, etc.). The village of

Kolitagrāma Kolita was very largely populated, and was situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. The

Kalandakanivāpa Kalandaka or Karaṇḍakanivāpa (tank) was situated near the Venuvana at Rājagṛha (N. B. L., Avadāna-śatakam p. 17, p. 23, Divyāvadāna, pp. 143, 554). It

Kukkuṭārāma-vihāra seems that there were two vihāras named Kukkuṭārāma, one at Pāṭaliputra (N. B. L.

Aśokāvadāna, pp. 9-10); Kalpadrumāvadāna, p. 293), and another at or near Rājagṛha (N. B. L., Dvāvimśāvadāna, p. 85). The

¹ N. B. L.—Kavikumārakathā, p. 102; Mahāvastu (Senarts' Ed.). Vol. I, pp. 34 & 54, Sukhāvatī-Vyūha, N. B. L., p. 236, Suvarṇaprabhāsa, N. B. L. p. 241, Divyāvadāna, p. 314, etc.

Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 441) has a reference to the famous
 Yaśṭivana Yaśṭivana which was once visited by the
 Yaśṭivana Buddha accompanied by a large number of
 bhikkhus. The same text (Vol. I. p. 70) refers to the
 Saptaparṇa cave Saptaparṇa cave in Kājagṛha (" Puravare bhavatu
 Rājagṛhesmin Saptaparṇa abhidhānaguhāyām ").

Vajji — The tribe of the Vajjis or Vṛjis included, according to
 Cunningham and Prof. Rhys Davids, atthakulas or eight con-
 federate clans among whom the Videhans, the Vṛjikas,¹ and the
 Licchavis were the most important. Other confederate clans were
 probably Jñātrkas, Ugras, Bhojas and Aikṣvākas. The Videha
 clan had its seat at Mithilā which is recorded in the Brāhmanas
 and the Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution.

Vaiśālī — The Vṛjikas are often associated with the city of
 Vaiśālī which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but
 also the metropolis of the entire confederacy. Vaiśālī was a great
 city of the Madhyadeśa and is identical with modern Besarh in
 the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar. The city which resembled the
 city of the gods was at the time of the Buddha, happy, proud,
 prosperous and rich with abundant food, charming and delightful,
 crowded with many and various people, adorned with buildings
 of various descriptions, storied mansions, buildings and palaces
 with towers, noble gateways, triumphal arches, covered courtyards,
 and charming with beds of flowers, in her numerous gardens
 and groves.

And lastly, the Lalitavistara claims that the city rivalled the
 domain of the immortals in beauty (Lefmann, Ch. III. p. 21;
 Mahāvastu, Vol. I. pp. 253 ff). More than once did the Buddha
 visit this wonderful city at which he once looked with an elephant
 look (Div. p. 208). Once in the vicinity of this city, while

dwelling in a lofty tower on the Markaṭa lake,
 Markaṭa lake the Lord went out on a begging excursion (N. B.
 L., Avadānaśataka, p. 18; Div. p. 208). By the side of the
 Markaṭa lake there was the Kūṭāgāra where the
 Kūṭāgāra Buddha once took up his dwelling (Bodhisattva-
 vadāna-Kalpalatā, 90th p. 73, N. B. L., Asokāvadāna, p. 12). We are

¹ According to the Divyāvadāna, the Vaiśālakas and the Licchavis were
 two different confederate clans (pp. 55-56; 136).

told in the Mahāvastu that a brahmin named Alāra Kālāma who was an inhabitant of Vaiśālī once gave instructions to the Śramaṇas (Vol. II. p. 118). The Licchavis of Vaiśālī made a gift of many caityas (e.g., the Saptāmra caitya, the Bahuputra caitya, the Gotama caitya, the Kapinbha caitya, the Markaṭabradatīra caitya) to the Buddha and the Buddhist Church. Ambapālī, the famous courtesan of Vaiśālī also made the gift of her extensive mango grove to the Buddhist congregation (Law's Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 44). In the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā it is said that the Vaiśālīkas or the inhabitants of Vaiśālī or Viśālā made a rule to the effect that daughters of individuals should be enjoyed by gaṇas, and should not, therefore, be married (20th. p. 38).

The Videha clan had its seat at Mithilā¹ which is recorded in the Brāhmaṇas and Purāṇas to have originally a monarchical constitution. In Sanskrit Buddhist texts (e.g., in the Lalitavistara, pp. 19, 125, 149 etc. as well as in other texts) mention is made of a dvīpa called Pūrvavideha-

Pūrvavideha dvīpa along with three other dvīpas, namely, the Aparagodāniya, the Uttarakuru, and the Jambudvīpa. Dvīpa is obviously used here in the sense of a country, but it is difficult to ascertain which country is meant by Pūrvavideha-dvīpa. The Lalitavistara refers to the script or alphabet of the Pūrvavideha-dvīpa, which the Lord Buddha is said to have mastered in his boyhood (p. 126). The same text refers to the extent of the four respective dvīpas; the Pūrvavideha-dvīpa is credited to have been nine thousand yojanas in extent.

Videha is often referred to as a Janapada whose capital was Mithilā (" Vaideha Janapade Mithilāyām Rājadhānyām " : Mahāvastu, Vol. III. , p. 172 , also Cf. Divyāvadāna, " Videheṣu Janapadeṣu gatvā prabrajītaḥ, " p. 424). In the Lalitavistara the Videha dynasty is described as wealthy, prosperous, amiable and generous (chap. III). The Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā refers to the city of Mithilā in Videha ruled by a king named Puspadeva having two pious sons, Candra and Sūrya (83, p. 9). The Bodhisattva, in one of his previous births as Maheśa, the

¹ Mithilā is, however, identified by some scholars with the small town of Janakapur just within the Nepal border. Videha is identical with ancient Tirabhukti, that is, modern Tirhut.

renowned elephant of Benares, was invited by the people of Mithilā to cure them of an epidemic (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. I. pp. 286-288). In another of his former existences, the Lord was born as the munificent King Vijitāvi of Mithilā. He was banished from his kingdom and took his abode in a leaf-hut near the Himālayas (*Mahāvastu*, III, p. 41). Two miles from Mithilā, there was a

Javakacchaka village, named Javakacchaka; where Mahasusadha, a brahmin, had his residence (*Ibid*, Vol. II, p. 83).

The country of the Mallas is referred to in the *Dvāvimśāvadāna* (N. B. L., p. 86). The same source refers to a village, Kus'i by name, in the country of the Mallas. The *Mukutabandhana caitya* of the Mallas, as well as the twin sālu trees of Kuśinārā where the Lord lay in his parinirvāṇa are alluded to more than once in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 208, 209 : " parinirvāṇāya gamiṣyati Mallānāṃ upavartanam yamakaśālavanam "). Anomiya was an important city in the Malla kingdom. This city which was once visited by the Bodhisattva was situated near the hermitage of sage Vasiṣṭha in the Malla kingdom to the south of Kapilavastu at a distance of 12 yojanas (*Mahāvastu*, II, 164).

The capital of the Kāśī country was Bārāṇasī (modern Benares). The Tathāgata once said : " Bārāṇasīm gamiṣyāmi gatvā vai Kāśināmapurīm " (*Lalitavistara*, p. 406); evidently Kāśī was the larger unit, i.e., the janapada, and Bārāṇasī was the capital (purī) of the Kāśīs or the people of Kāśī. ¹ That Kāśī was a janapada is attested to by the same text (*Ibid*. p. 405). Its capital Bārāṇasī finds a prominent place in the literature of Hindus and Buddhists alike, and is again and again mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist texts. In the *Mahāvastu*, Bārāṇasī is mentioned to have been situated on the bank of the river Varāṇā (Vol. III, p. 402); but according to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* *Kalpalatā* Bārāṇasī was on the Ganges (6th, p. 31 and 32). In the *Divyāvadāna* the city is described as prosperous, extensive

¹ Reference is made in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 215) of a certain kind of cloth called Kāśīka-vastra which was most probably manufactured in Kāśī.

populous, and a place where alms could easily be obtained (p. 73). It was not oppressed by deceitful and quarrelsome people (Ibid. p. 98). The Buddha once set out to go to Kāśī manifesting, as he went, the manifold supernatural course of life of the Magadha people (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV, v. 90). The city of Bārāṇasī was hallowed by the feet of the Buddha (Sarvārthasiddha) who came here to preach his excellent doctrine. He gave a discourse on the Dharmacakrapravarttana (Wheel of Law) sūtra in the Deer Park near Benares, a fact which is again and again referred to in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. III, vs. 10-11: Cf. Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. XV, v. 87; Lalitavistara, pp. 412-13, etc.)

Benares was a great trading centre of Buddhist India. Rich merchants of the city used to cross over high seas with ships laden with merchandise. One such merchant once crossed over to the Rākṣasī island which, however, is difficult to be identified (Mahāvastu, III. p. 286). A wealthy merchant came to Benares from Takṣaśilā (mod. Taxila) with the object of carrying on trade (Ibid., II., pp. 166-167). The Divyāvadāna informs us that a caravan trader reached Benares from Uttarāpatha during the reign of King Brahmadatta who heard him saying thus: "Now I have reached Benares, bringing with me articles for sale." He was welcomed by the king who gave him shelter (pp. 510 ff).

Kāśī came in conflict with Kośala several times and each time the king of Kāśī was defeated. At last when he was going to make desperate final attack the king of Kośala refused to fight and abdicated his throne (Mahāvastu, III., p. 349).

Brahmadatta, king of Benares, is said to have once apprehended that a great famine lasting for 12 years would visit Benares. He, therefore, asked the inhabitants of the kingdom to leave the city, but those who had enough provisions were permitted to remain. A large number of people died on account of the famine, but one person who had enormous wealth in his possession gave alms to a Pratyeka-Buddha who went to him. The wife of the person prayed in return for a boon to the effect that a pot of rice cooked by her would be sufficient for hundreds of thousands of people. Her husband prayed that his granaries might always be kept filled up with paddy, and the son in his turn prayed that his

treasures might always be full of wealth although he might spend as much as he liked. All the boons prayed for were granted (Div. , pp. 132 ff).

In the Śikṣāsamuccaya (tr. by Bendall) of Śāntideva, a king of Benares is referred to have given his flesh to a hawk to save a dove (p. 99). Another king of Kāśī made a gift of an elephant to a king of Videha on his request. At this time a deadly disease was raging in the kingdom of Videha ; but as soon as the elephant stepped on the borders of Mithilā, the disease disappeared (Mahāvastu, I. p. 286 ff). The same source informs us that there once lived in Benares a king whose kingdom extended up to Taxila (Ibid. II. p. 82).

Kośala, during the days of early Buddhism, was an important kingdom and its king Prasenajit an important figure (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 100th, p. 2) Kośala Kulmāspindī, another king of Kośala, is claimed in the Bodhisattvāvadāna to have been none other than the Lord Buddha himself (N. B. L. p. 50). Another virtuous king of Kośala to avoid bloodshed in a war with the king of Kāśī abdicated his throne and went to a voluntary exile. In his exile he greatly helped a merchant who in a later existence came to be born as Ajñāta Kaundinya (Mahāvastu, N. B. L. , p. 156).

That the ancient Kośala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayū serving as the wedge between the two, is suggested by the Avadānasataka (N. B. L. p. 20) wherein a reference is made to a war between the kings of North and South Kośala.

Mārakaraṇḍa was a locality in the kingdom of Kośala (Mahāvastu, Vol. I. p. 319).

The most important capital city of Kośala was 'Śrāvastī'.¹ This city was full of kings, princes, their councillors, Śrāvastī ministers and followers, Kṣatriyas, Brāhmaṇas, householders, etc. (Latitavistara, Ch. I). There at 'Śrāvastī' was the

¹ Śrāvastī is identical with the great ruined city on the south bank of the Rapti called Saheth-Maheth.

Sāketa was another capital of the Kośala kingdom. In the Mahāvastu Avadāna (Mahāvastu, Senarts' Ed., Vol. I., p. 348) we read that Sujāta, one of the descendants of Māndhātā became king of the Ikṣvākus in the great city Sāketa. The city is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (3rd, P. 2) to have been adorned with domes.

famous garden of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana frequently referred to in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. There the Buddha stayed with his retinue of bhikkhus for a number of times and received hundreds of householders as followers and disciples. The Divyāvadāna informs us that Mahākātyāyana desirous of going to Madhyadeśa first reached Sindhu and then Śrāvastī (p. 581). Merchants of Śrāvastī went to Ceylon crossing over the high seas (N. B. L. Avadānaśataka p. 19; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 7th, p. 50). In the city of Śrāvastī a poor brahmin named Svastika took to cultivation to earn his livelihood (Ibid. 61st P. 2). It was in this city that the Buddha gave religious instructions to the citizens whose darkness of ignorance was thereby dispelled (Ibid. 6th, p. 3; 79th p. 2; 82nd p. 2). The royal family of the Kośalas is referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 20-21) as one in which Bodhisattva might desire to be born.

The Mahāvastu (III. p. 101) refers to the Nyagrodhārāma of Kośala where the Buddha is said to have once taken up his residence. It was at the Jetavana grove of Śrāvastī that Devadatta sent assassins to kill the Lord who, however, received the murderers very hospitably (Avadānaśataka, N. B. L. p. 27). It was also at this grove that when Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring after adoring the Lord, 500 geese came to him and announced that King Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice the King of Kośala's devotion, and was coming to congratulate him on his conversion to the faith (Ibid. pp. 12-13). King Bimbisāra also interviewed the Lord at Jetavana (Ibid. p. 45). The same text refers to the fact that the Lord made no distinction as to proper and improper times in preaching the truths of religion. One day he preached while cleansing the Jetavana with a broom in hand (Ibid. p. 29). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (52nd, p. 20) refers to a king of Kośala named Hiranyavarmā who imposed a fine on a brahmin named Kapila.

Cedi — Reference to Cedi as one of the sixteen Janapadas of Jambudvīpa is made in the Lalitavistara (p. 22). The ancient Cedi country lay near the Jumna and was contiguous to that of the Kurus. It corresponds roughly to the modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.

Vatsa — Like the Cedi kingdom the Vatsa Janapada is also referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 27). The Vatsa dynasty is therein described as rich, thriving, kind and generous. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 2) refers to King Udayana of the Vatsa country and his capital Kauśāmbī.¹ The same

Kauśāmbī text refers to the fact that King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Udayana of Avanti requested the Lord, just when he had descended from the Tusita heaven, to honour Rājagṛha or Kauśāmbī by making it his birth place.² In a comparatively modern Sanskrit Mahayanist text (N. B. L. p. 269), the monastery of Ghosīrā, in the suburbs of Kauśāmbī is referred to. The site may probably be identical with the old Ghositārāma of Kosāmbī referred to so frequently in the Pāli Vinaya texts. Aśvaghoṣa in his Saundarānanda-Kāvya (Law's translation, p. 9) refers to a hermitage (ārāma) of one Kuśāmba where the city of Kauśāmbī was built.

The Siśumāra hill identical probably with Siśumāra Hill Suṃsumāragiri of the Pāli Jātakas which sheltered the Bhagga (Bhārga) state was included in the Vatsa territory. There on that hill lived a rich householder named Buddha. He gave his daughter Rūpīnī to the son of Anāthapiṇḍada (N. B. L. Divyāvadānamālā, p. 309).

Matsya — The Matsya country, one of the 16 Janapadas enumerated in the Lalitavistara (p. 22), comprises the modern territory of Jaipur; it included the whole of the present territory of Alwar with a portion of Bharatpur. The capital of the Matsya country was Virāṭanagara or Vairāt (so called because it was the capital of Virāṭa, King of the Matsyas) which has perhaps a veiled reference in the name Bairatīputra Saṃjaya referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. pp. 59, 90).

Sūrasena — The capital of the Sūrasena Janapada was Mathurā, generally identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathurā or Muttra (U. P.).

¹ The Bodhisattvavādara-Kalpatalā (35th, p. 3.) has a similar reference where it is stated that Kauśāmbī was ruled by the Vatsa King Udayana, Kauśāmbī is identical with modern Kosam near Allahabad.

² Mahāvastu (Senarts' Ed.), Vol. II, p. 2.

Mathurā — In the *Lalitavistara* (p. 21) the city of Mathurā is described as rich, flourishing and populous, the metropolis of King Suvāhu of the race of the valiant Kamsa. Upagupta, the teacher of Aśoka, was the son of Gupta, a rich man of Mathurā (*Aśokāvadāna*, N. B. L., p. 10.) He was intended by his father to be a disciple of Soṇavāsī (*Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*, 72nd, p. 2-3) who was a propagator of the Buddhist faith at Mathurā.

At Urumuṇḍa, a hill in Mathurā, Soṇavāsī converted Naṭa and Bhaṭa, two nāgas and erected two vihāras of the same name in commemoration of their conversion (*Ibid*; also Cf. *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* 71st, p. 13 for a reference to the Urumuṇḍa Hill). The famous courtesan Vāsavadattā lived at Mathurā (*Div.* p. 352). There also lived in Mathurā two brothers, Naṭa and Bhaṭa, both merchants (*Ibid.* p. 349). One Padmaka, beholding in his youth, a dead body felt disgusted with the world, and became eventually a hermit. When at Mathurā, he entered the house of a prostitute for alms; she was, however, charmed with the hermit's appearance and sought his love (N. B. L., *Aśokāvadāna*, p. 15). The *Divyāvadāna* seems to attest to the fact that there was a bridge of boats between Mathurā and Pāṭali-putra (p. 386). Upagupta is credited to have converted 18 laos of the people of Mathurā (*Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 72nd, p. 71).

Another important city of the Sūrasena janapada was Kānyakubja. Kuśa, the son of Abūdā, the chief queen of Ikṣvāku, king of Benares, married Sudarsanā, the daughter of the king of Kānyakubja in Sūrasena (N. B. L., *Kuśa Jātaka*, p. 110). The same story is more elaborate-

ly given elsewhere. Mahendraka, the tribal king of Bhadrakasat in Kānyakubja had a beautiful daughter. Alindā, the chief queen¹ of the king of Benares (Subandhu was his name) immediately after the king's accession to the throne, set a negotiation on foot for her son's marriage to the daughter of king Mahendraka. The match was soon settled and the nuptials were celebrated at Kānyakubja (N. B. L., *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*, p. 143 ff). The *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* refers to the Kānyakubja forest (80th,

¹ The name of the queen is given as Abūdā in the *Kuśa Jātaka* which is but a substance of this story.

p. 77) which must have been situated somewhere near the city of the same name.

The ancient Kuru country is mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa and may be said to have comprised the Kuru-kṣetra or Thaneswar. The district included Sonapat, Anun, Karnal, and Pānīpat, and was situated between the Sarasvatī on the north and Dṛśadvatī on the south. In the *Kalpadruma-avadāna* (N. B. L., p. 297) it is stated that the Buddha once visited the city of the Kauravas which seems to have probably been the capital of the Kuru country, but unfortunately the name of the city is not given. It is, however, possible on the epic authority to identify the Kaurava city with Hastināpura which is several times mentioned in the Sanskrit Buddhist text. The *Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā* definitely states that it was the capital of the Kuru kings (3rd Pallava 116: 64th, p. 9). It is stated that King Arjuna of Hastināpura was in the habit of killing those holy men who were unable to satisfy him by answers to the questions put by him (*Mahāvastu-avadāna*, III, p. 361). Sudhanu, son of Subāhu, another king of Hastināpura, fell in love with a Kinnarī in a distant country, and came back with her to the capital where he had long been associated with his father in the government of the kingdom. (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, pp. 94-95) Utpala, son of Vidyādhara, a serpent catcher, dwelt at Hastināpura in the vicinity of Valkalāyana's hermitage (*Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā*, 64th, p. 62.) The city is described in the *Divyāvadāna* as a rich, prosperous and populous city. Close by there was a big lake full of lotuses, swans and cranes (p. 435). This, it can be surmised, was the *Dvaipāyana-hrada*. The place was visited by the Buddha. Here an excellent brahmin approached him and praised him (Ibid. p. 72). The city was once ruled over by a pious and righteous king named Uttarapañcāla Mahādhana. In the *Divyāvadāna* Hastināpura is described as a rich, prosperous, and populous city (p. 435). The *Lalitavistara* refers to Hastināpura as having been ruled by a king descended from the Pāṇḍava race, valiant and the most beautiful and glorious among conquerors (Chap. III).

Mention is often made in the Sanskrit Buddhist sources as well as in Pāli texts of the Uttarakuru country (Uttarakurudvīpa), obviously a mythical region. The Lalitavistara refers to four Pratyanta-dvipas or border-countries; they are Pūrvavideha, Aparagodāniya, Uttarakuru and Jambudvīpa (19; cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā, 4th, p. 48, 50 & 71). The alphabet of the Uttarakuru country is also referred to as having been mastered by the Buddha (Ibid. p. 126). The Uttarakurudvīpa is stated to have been ten thousand yojanas in extent (Ibid. p. 149). In the Divyāvadāna it is mentioned as an island where people lived unattached to the worldly life (p. 215).

Pañcāla was originally the country north and west of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayas to the river Chambal, but it was divided into north and south Pañcāla, separated by the Ganges. It roughly corresponds to modern Budaon, Furrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.

That the Pañcāla country was divided into two divisions is attested to by the Divyāvadāna wherein we read of two Pañcāla Viśayas. Uttara Pañcāla and Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla. The Jātakas as well as the Mahābhārata also refer to these two divisions of the country. According to the Divyāvadāna (p. 435) the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Hastināpura, but according to the Jātakas (Cowell's Jat. III, p. 230) the capital was Kampillanagara. The Mahābhārata, however, states that the capital of Uttara-Pañcāla was Ahicchatra or Chatravati (identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district) while Dakṣiṇa Pañcāla had its capital at Kampilya (Mbh. 138, 73-74) identical with modern Kampil in the Furrukhabad district, U. P.¹ and Padumāvati, the wife of a Pañcāla king is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III, p. 169).

According to the Divyāvadāna, Hastināpura was the capital of the Pañcāla kingdom but according to the Epics and the Jātakas, Kampilya was the capital. In one of his former existences the Buddha was born as Rakṣita, son of Brahmadatta's priest. This Brahmadatta was the king of Kampilya in Pañcāla (Mahāvastu, I, p. 283). In one of his former existences, the Bodhisattva was

¹ For reconciliation of these apparent discrepancies in the different evidences see my "Geography of Early Buddhism"—pp. 18-19.

Puṇyavanta, son of Añjanas, king of Bārāṇasī. Once he with his four friends set out on a journey to Kāmpilya in order to test the usefulness of their respective excellences (Mahāvastu, Vol. III. p. 33). When Prasenajit, king of Śrāvastī, was retiring from Jetavana after adoring the Buddha, 500 geese came to him, and announced that the king of Pañcāla had been greatly pleased to notice Prasenajit's devotion (N. B. L., Asokāvadāna, pp. 12-13). Kāmpilya in the kingdom of Pañcāla is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been ruled by a pious king Satyarata (66th P. 4) and by King Brahmadatta (68th P. 9).

The Śivī country is mentioned in the Lalitavistara (p. 22) as well as in the Mahāvastu (Law, 'A Study of the Mahāvastu', p. 9) as one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa. According to the Jātakas (Jāt. IV, p. 401) Ariththapura was the capital of the Śivī kingdom. Ariththapura (Pāli Ariththapura) is mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (2nd, p. 2 and 3) to have been ruled by King Śrisena. The same text refers to the city of Śivavati, doubtless identical with the capital of the Śivī country, to have been ruled by King Sivi (91st P. 6.). In a passage of the Rgveda (VII. 18, 7) there is a mention of the Sivi people along with the Alinas, Pakthas, Bhalānsas and Viśanins. Early Greek writers also refer to a country in the Punjab as the territory of the Siboi. It is highly probable that the Siva country of the Rgveda, the Sibi country of the Jātakas, and the Siboi country of the Greek geographers are one and the same. Patañjali mentions a country in the north called Śivapura (IV. 2, 2) which is certainly identical with Sibipura mentioned in a Shorkot inscription (Ep. Ind., 1921, p. 6). The Siva, Sibi or Siboi territory is, therefore, identical with the Shorkot region of the Punjab - the ancient Sivapura or Sibipura. Strictly speaking the Sivi country should, therefore, be included in the Uttarāpatha.

Daśārṇa, according to the Lalitavistara and the Mahāvastu, was one of the sixteen janapadas of Jambudvīpa.

Daśārṇa The country has been mentioned in the Mahābhārata (II, 5-10) as well as in the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa (24-25). It is generally identified with the Vidisā or Bhilsā region in the Central Provinces.

The Āsmaka country is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. 363)

wherein it is stated that there was a hermitage on the Godāvari in the Āsmaka country where Sarabhaṅga, the son of the royal priest of Brahmadatta, king of Kampilya, retired after having received ordination. The country is doubtless identical with Pāli Assaka whose capital was Potala or Potana. Asaṅga in his Sūtrālamkāra mentions another Āsmaka country which, however, was situated on the Indus. Asaṅga's Āsmaka seems, therefore, to be identical with the kingdom of Assakenns of the Greek writers which lay to the east of the Sarasvati at a distance of about 25 miles from the sea on the Swat valley. Āsmaka of the Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was situated on the Godāvari. Strictly speaking, therefore, the Āsmaka country lay outside the pale of Madhyadeśa.¹

In early Pāli literature, Assaka has been distinguished from Mūlaka which lay to its north, but has always been associated with Avantī which lay immediately to the north-east. The Gandavyūha refers to the city of Samantamukha in the Mūlaka country (N. B. L., p. 91).

Avantī² is referred to in the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara as one of the 16 janapadas of Jambudvīpa. The Bodhisattvāvadāna refers again and again to King Udayana of Avantī (N. B. L. p. 74). There in the vicinity of Avantī lived Uttara and Nalaka, the two sons of one Jayī, the family priest of King of Tvarkata, (N. B. L., Bhadrakalpāvadāna, p. 44).

According to Pāli texts (Dīpavaṃsa, Oldenberg's Edn, p. 57) the capital of Avantī was Ujjeni or Ujjayini which, however, according to Sanskrit Buddhist texts, was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Mahāvastu (Vol. II, p. 30) states that after the birth of the Bodhisattva, Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayini in Dakṣiṇāpatha, who had lived long on the Vindhya mountain, came from the Himālayas, his recent abode, to see the Bodhisattva.

Ujjayini is also referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (76th, p. 10).

¹ For various references to the Assaka or Āsmaka tribe and their different settlements, see my Geography of Early Buddhism, pp. 21-22.

² Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces.

Kapilavastu is famous in the history of Buddhist India as the home of the Śākya (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. Kapilavastu I. also Cf. Mahāvastu: Law's "A Study of the Mahāvastu", pp. 55 ff). It was also known as Kapilasya vastu (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I.). The Lalitavistara calls it Kapilavastu and sometimes Kapilapura (p. 243) or Kapilāhvayapura (p. 28). All these names occur also in the Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 11). As to the origin of the name Kapilavastu we have to turn to the Saundarānanda Kāvya where it is stated that as the city was built in the hermitage of the sage Kapila it was called Kapilavastu (Ch. I.). The Divyāvadāna also connects Kapilavastu with the sage Kapila (p. 548). In the Buddhacarita Kāvya (Bk. I. verse 2) Kapilavastu is described as the dwelling place of the great sage Kapila. It was surrounded by seven walls (Mahāvastu, II, 75) and is always referred to by the Lalitavistara as a Mahānagara or great city with a good number of gardens, avenues and market places (pp. 58, 77, 98, 101, 102, 113, 123). There were four city gates and towers all over the city (Ibid p. 58). An explanation of the origin of the Śākya is given in the Saundarānanda Kāvya (Ch. I) wherein it is stated that as the Śākya built their houses surrounded by Śāka trees, they were called Śākya. The Mahāvastu gives a story of the foundation of Kapilavastu and the settlement of the Śākya there (Vol. I. p. 350 ff). The Lalitavistara (pp. 136-137) gives 500 as the number of members of the Śākya Council.

Kapilavastu is stated to have been immensely rich, an abode of the powerful, a home of learning, and a resort of the virtuous. It was full of charities, festivals and congregations of powerful princes. It is described as having a good strength of horses, elephants and chariots (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I). With arched gateways and pinnacles, (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. I. v. 5) it was surrounded by the beauty of the lofty table-land (Ibid., V. 2). In this city none but intelligent and qualified men were engaged as ministers (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I). As there was no improper taxation, the city was full of people (Ibid), and poverty could not find any place there where prosperity shone resplendently (Buddhacarita Kāvya, Bk. I., V. 4).

In the city of Kapilavastu the Buddha gave his religious discourse and his relations listened to it with great eagerness

(Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. II, v. 26). At a retired place, 96 miles from Kapilavastu, in the kingdom of the Mallas, in the vicinity of the āśrama of Vasiṣṭha, the Bodhisattva Gautama had parted with his servant Chandaka and his horse Kaṇṭhaka (Mahāvastu, Vol. II, pp. 164-165).

The Uposadhāvadānam (N. B. L. p. 265) refers to the
 Nyagrodha Nyagrodha garden near Kapilavastu. Viśvāmitra
 garden was a young preacher who resided at Kapilavastu
 (N. B. L. Gaṇḍavyūha, p. 92). Sobhita was a rich Śākya of
 Kapilavastu (Avadāna-Śataka, N. B. L. p. 37). Another rich
 Śākya of the city had his only daughter named Śuklā (Ibid. p. 35).

Gayā named after the royal sage of the same name is often
 mentioned as a city visited by the Lord. The
 Gayā river Nairāñjanā (Phalgu) which flows through
 the city was also visited by him (Buddhacarita, Bk. XII. vs. 87-88).
 The Buddha crossed the Ganges and went to the hermitage of
 Kāśyapa at Gayā (Ibid., Bk. V. XVII, 8). He dwelt on the bank
 of the river Nairāñjanā at the foot of the Bodhi
 Nairāñjanā river tree where Māra approached him and asked him
 to leave the world (Div. p. 202).

In the Mahāvastu (Vol. II. p. 123) it is stated that the Buddha
 came to Uruvilva where he saw nicely looking
 Uruvilva trees, pleasing lakes, plain grounds, and the trans-
 parent water of the Nairāñjanā river. From Uruvilva the Lord
 wanted to go to Benares. He directed his steps accordingly towards
 that holy city. His route lay through Gayā, Nāhāl, Bundadvira
 Lohitavastuka, Gandhapura and Sārathipura (N. B. L., Mahā-
 vastu-avadāna, p. 157, cf. Lalitavistara, pp. 406-7). From Gayā
 the Buddha had, however, gone to Aparagayā
 Aparagayā where he was invited by Sudarśana, the king of
 snakes (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 156).

The Gayāśirṣa mountain was situated at Gayā from where
 Gayāśirṣa the Buddha went to Uruvilva and Senāpatigāma
 mountain for the attainment of Perfect Enlightenment (A
 Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 81; cf. Lalitavistara p. 248). The
 Lalitavistara (p. 405) refers to the Bodhimanda
 Bodhimanda of Gayā not far from which the Bodhisattva met
 an ājīvika.

Cuṇḍādvila was a city once visited by the Buddha where he announced to the Ājīvaka named Upaka that without a master he had become the Buddha (A Study of the Mahāvastu, pp. 156-57). It is, however, difficult to identify the city.

A rich and prosperous city referred to in the Bodhisattvāvadāna-Kalpalatā (56th, p. 2) was obviously a mythical city.

The rich village of Nālandā is stated in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 56.) to have been situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagṛha. Nālandā is identified with modern Baragaon, seven miles to the north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 31 for more details).

These were the two cities mentioned in the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā to have been visited by Buddha Vipassī and Gautama Buddha (27th, p. 54 and 39th, p. 2). They cannot, however, be identified.

According to the Buddhist tradition recorded in the Divyāvadāna the eastern boundary of the Madhyadeśa extended up to Puṇḍravardhana (pp. 21-22). Yuan Chwang, the celebrated Chinese traveller, also holds the same view ; but according to the Mahāvagga of the Vinaya Piṭaka it extended up to Kajangala. Puṇḍravardhana was a stronghold of the Nigaṇṭhas. It once happened that a Professor of the Nigaṇṭha school who reviled the religion of the Buddha, had got a picture painted representing himself with the Buddha lying at his feet. This he had widely circulated in the province of Puṇḍravardhana. Aśoka heard of it and was so enraged that he desired to punish him. (N. B. L., Aśokāvadāna, p. 11). The same story is related also in the Divyāvadāna in a slightly different version (p. 427). The Divyāvadāna adds that here in Puṇḍravardhana 18,000 Ājīvikas were killed (p. 427). The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (93rd, p. 3-4) states that Sumāgadā, daughter of Anāthapiṇḍada was married to a person at Puṇḍravardhana (a variant reading of Puṇḍravardhana). The details of the story are given in Sumāgadā Avadāna wherein it is stated that the name of the groom was Vṛsabhaddatta (N. B. L., p. 237 ; also cf. Divyāvadāna, p. 402).

In the Divyāvadāna, Dvīpavati is mentioned as a city ruled by the king Dvīpa. It was rich, prosperous and populous. (p. 246). The city is stated to have been the birth place of Dīpaṃkara Buddha (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 89th, p. 75). The city cannot, however, be identified.

It was a city ruled by a king named Kṣema. There lived in that city a merchant banker who was a staunch supporter of the Tathāgata named Kṣemaṃkara (Divyāvadāna, p. 242). The city, probably a mythical one, cannot be identified.

It was a beautiful city of Mahāsudarsana (Divyāvadāna, Kuśāvati p. 227).

The hermitage of Kapila was by the side of the Himālayas (Saundarānanda Kāvya, Ch. I, V. 5). This is also corroborated by the evidence of the Divyāvadāna (p. 548) wherein it is stated that the hermitage of the sage Kapila was situated not far from the river Bhāgīrathī by the side of the Himālayas.

It was a city inhabited by a prostitute famous for her charity (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 51st, p. 6). King Sobha built in this city a stūpa dedicated to the teacher Kakusandha (Ibid 78th, p. 28).

To the north of Kāśī by the side of the Himālayas there was a hermitage Sāhaṇjana where lived a sage named Kāśyapa (Mahāvastu, III, 143).

Once while the Buddha was engaged in deep meditation for six years at Senāpatigrāma in Uruvilva, a public woman named Gavā kept a coarse cloth on the branch of a tree for the Buddha's use after meditation. By virtue of this noble deed, she was reborn in heaven as a nymph (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 154).

There was a city named Uttara, which was 12 yojanas from east to west, and seven yojanas from south to north. Seven walls surrounded the city and there were seven large tanks. The city-gates and palaces were decorated with glass, gold, silver and other valuable gems and jewels.

The king of the city was a Ksatriya and a Rājacakravartti (Mahāvastu, I., p. 249).

The Madrakaviṣaya is referred to in the Mahāvastu (III. p. 15).

The same text also refers to its king (p. 9).

Madraka Madraka country is doubtless identical with the Maddarattha of the Pāli texts.

Kuśīrāmaka, obviously a village, is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 208). Its variant reading is Kuśilagrāmaka

Kuśigrāmaka grāmaka or Kuśalagrāmaka which, however, is difficult to be identified.

Brahmottara, a city, is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna (p. 602)

along with two other cities, Sadamattakam and **Brahmottara** Nandanam. These two cities cannot be identified,

but Brahmottara is probably identical with Suhmottara of the Purāṇas which is only a misreading for Brahmottara.

Mīśrakavana is referred to along with Nandana-

Mīśrakavana vana and Pāriyātra in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 194-195).

Vāsavagrāmaka is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (1, 4, and 10 ff). The village must be identified with some

Vāsavagrāmaka locality near Śrāvastī.

Srughna Srughna is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 74).

This is the place of the Buddha's descent from Heaven which

is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (pp. 150 and 401).

Sāṅkāśya Sāṅkāśya is doubtless identical with Pāli Saṅ-

kassa or Saṅkissa. The place is generally identified with Sankisa Basantapura, situated on the north bank of the river Ikṣumati now called Kālīnadi between Atrāñji and Kanoj, and 23 miles west of Fategarh in the district of Etah and 45 miles north-west of Kanoj.

The Brahman district of Sthūpa formed the western boundary of the Madhyadeśa (Div. 21-22 ; Vinaya Texts.

Sthūpa S. B. E. XVII, pp 38-39). Sthūpa or Pāli Thūna

may be identified with Thanoswar. (See my "Geography of Early Buddhism," p. 2 and foot note 2).

Rāmagāma (Ramagrāma) was the capital of the Koliyas or

Rāmagrāma Kauliṣa tribe, a story of whose origin is detailed in the Mahāvastu-avadāna (Vol. I. 355). Aśoka

caused a caitya and other religious edifices to be erected at Rāmagāma. The Divyāvadāna refers to the eighth stūpa to have been erected at Rāmagāma; apparently it was the last of the eight stūpas built over the relics of the Master (Div. p. 380).

References to the Lumbini garden as the birth place of the Buddha are numerous, but they have no special geographical import. The Rummindei pillar inscription of Aśoka locates beyond doubt the Lumbini grove. The inscription on Nigliva pillar (now situated 38 miles north-west of Uskabazar Station on the B. N. W. Ry.) shows that it was erected near the stūpa of Konāgamana, but it is not now *in situ*.

At Bhaṇḍāligrāma the Lord converted a Caṇḍālī and at Pātala (probably Pāṭaliputra) he made Potala, a follower of his creed, to erect a splendid stūpa on his hair and nails. The Lord said to Indra that a king, Milinda by name, would also erect a stūpa at Pātala (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā 57 th P.).

Contemporaneous with the Buddha who was at that time lodged in the Veṇuvana on the side of the Kalan-dakanivāpa at Rājagṛha, there lived in a retired village named Dakkhiṇagiri one Sampurna, a brahmin, as rich as Kuvera (N. B. L., Avadānaśataka, p. 17).

Dipavati or Dipāvati is described as a large royal city extending over an area of 84 square miles (Mahāvastu, N. B. L., p. 118). Sarvānanda, king of this great city, once visited the great vihāra of Prasannaśīla, and thence brought the Buddha Dipamkara to his metropolis. (N. B. L. Pīṇḍapātrāvadānam, p. 195). The city cannot, however, be identified.

Kṛṣṇagrāma or Kṛṣigrāma is suggested in the Lalitavistara to have been situated somewhere near Kapilavastu (p. 135). The village may probably be identified with the place where the Bodhisattva gave up his crown and sword and cut off locks of his hair.

RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, ETC. OF MADHYADEŚA

There is a reference to the Pāṇḍava Hill in the Mahāvastu (II. 198) where the Bodhisattva Gotama once took up his dwelling. It is difficult to identify the hill.

Tattulya, Avarā, Nīloda, Varambha, Aṣṭādaśavakra and Dhūmanetra mountains—The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to a number of mountains mentioned here (6th Pallava, 69-88). But they do not lend themselves to any identification.

Canḍagiri The Mahāvastu refers to a mountain called Canḍagiri (III. 130) which it is not possible to identify.

The holy river Gaṅgā is often mentioned in both Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist sources. More than once the Gaṅgā Bodhisattva arrived on the Ganges; on one occasion the river was full to the brim (Lalitavistara p. 407; also cf. Mahāvastu, III, p. 201.)

Kailāśa Parvata According to the Lalitavistara the big palaces of King Suddhodana are said to have resembled the Kailāśa Parvata (p. 211).

The river Yamunā is more than once mentioned in the Mahāvastu (Vol. III. p. 201). Sarabhaṅga, a disciple of Kāśyapa, was present at a great sacrifice held at a place between the Ganges and the Yamunā (N. B. L., Mahāvastu, p. 160).

Pāriyātra or Pāripātra mountains formed according to both Brahmanical and Buddhist tradition the southern boundary line of the Madhyadeśa. It is a branch of the Vindhyas and is mentioned in the Divyāvadāna along with Mandākinī, Caitraratha, Pārusyaka, Nandanavana, Misrakāvana and Pāṇḍukambalaśilā etc. (pp. 194-195).

The Gurupādaka hill is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 61) in connection with the story of Maitreya who is supposed to have repaired to the Gurupādaka hill, perhaps a legendary name.

Himavanta The Himālayas are mentioned everywhere in Sanskrit Buddhist literature.

They are again and again mentioned in connection with the penance and sambodhi of the Buddha. They Bodhivaṭa and Bodhidruma certainly refer to the famous Bo-tree of Bodh Gaya at the foot of which the Buddha attained Enlightenment.

UTTARĀPATHA

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, RIVERS, MOUNTAINS, ETC.

According to both Pali tradition contained in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya* texts, S.B.E., XVI, pp. 38-39) and Sanskrit Buddhist tradition contained in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 21-22), the Uttarāpatha or northern country lay to the west and north-west of the two Brāhmaṇa districts of Sthūna (Thūna) and Upasthūpa. Roughly, therefore, the northern country extended from Thaneswar to the eastern districts of modern Afghanistan comprising the tract of land including Kāśmīr, the Punjab and the North-western provinces, and part of Sind. It is significant that Sanskrit Buddhist texts do not enumerate Gandhāra and Kamboja, both in Uttarāpatha, in their traditional list of the sixteen Mahājanapadas, but mention Śivi and Dasārṇa instead. And as far as we have been able to ascertain these texts hardly ever refer to the two countries of Gandhāra and Kamboja though mention is made of Takṣaśīlā more than once in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Āśokāvadāna* and elsewhere.

Takṣaśīlā (modern Taxila identical roughly with the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab) was the capital of the Gandhāra kingdom. The Buddha was in one of his former births born as a king of Bārāṇasi, and his empire extended to Takṣaśīlā where he had once marched to suppress a revolt (*Mahāvastu*, Vol. II, 82). In another of his former existences when the Buddha had been born as King Candraprabha, the city of Takṣaśīlā was known as Bhadrasiḷā ; but later it came to be known as Takṣaśīlā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (*Divyāvadānamālā*, N.B.L., p. 310.)

During the reign of Āśoka a rebellion broke out in the distant province of Takṣaśīlā, and Kunāla, son of Āśoka, was sent to quell the disturbance. The subsequent tale, tragic and beautiful at the same time, is told in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā*,¹ the *Āśokāvadāna* (N. B. L. pp. 9-10) as well as in the *Divyāvadāna* (pp. 371 ff.). They give us the account of how Kunāla refused the love of his step-mother, how his two eyes were uprooted by

¹ According to the *Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā* (59th, p. 59) Taxila, however, belonged to King Kuṇḍarakaṇṇa when Kuṇḍala was sent to conquer it.

way of revenge by that jealous lady, and how eventually he was driven out from Taxila where he was posted as Viceroy. Kuṇḍala with his devoted wife Kāñcanamālā wandered from place to place and at last came to the coach-house of Aśoka where he sang a song on his lute which attracted the attention of the king. The king then recognised his son and came to know all that had happened. Tisarakṣitā was punished to death, and Kuṇḍala got back his eyes.

From the Divyāvadāna it appears that Takṣaśilā was included in the empire of Bindusāra of Magadha, father of Aśoka, as well.

The Divyāvadāna refers to the beautiful city of Kāśmīra which was inhabited by the learned (p. 399).

Kāśmīra Mādhyantika, a Bhikṣu, was sent to Kāśmīra as a missionary by his spiritual guide Ānanda.

Kāśmīra at that time was peopled solely by the Nāgas (N. B. L. Avadāna-Śataka, p. 67; also Cf. Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 70th, p. 2-3) The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, (p. 105 p. 2) also refers to a Bhikṣu, Rāivata by name, of Śāilavihāra in Kāśmīra. The author of the "Sragdharā stotram" was a Buddhist monk of Kāśmīra.

In Uttarāpatha there was a city named Bhadrāśilā, rich, prosperous and populous. It was 12 yojanas in

Bhadrāśilā length and breadth, and was well-divided with four gates and adorned with high vaults and

windows. There was a royal garden in the city named Maṇigarbha (Divyāvadāna, p. 315). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, the city was situated to the north of the Himālayas and that it was ruled by king named Candraprabha (5th. p. 2 and 6). The city came, later on, to be known as Takṣaśilā because here the head of Candraprabha was severed by a beggar brahmin (Divyāvadānamālā, N. B. L. p. 310).

Mañjudeva, king of the mount Mañjuśrī in China (obviously a mythical one) seeing the Kālīhrada full of

Gokarṇa monstrous aquatic animals, and the temple of Svayambhū almost inaccessible, opened with his

sword many of the valleys on the southern side of the lake. He opened the valleys of Kapotala, Gandhavatī, Mrgāsthālī, Gokarṇa, Varaya and Indravatī in succession.

After the departure of the Lord Krakuchanda from Nepal, Svayambhū produced eight vitarāgas or holy men who had mastered their passions. They lived there, granted happiness and prosperity to all creatures. One of those eight vitarāgas or holy men was Gokarṇeśvara, in Gokarṇa or the Vāgmatī where it falls from the mountain. (Svayambhū purāṇa, N. B. L., p. 253).

It is modern Sutlej, a tributary of the Ganges. Kinnarī Manoharā, wife of Prince Sudhanu, son of Suvāhu, Satadru river king of Hastināpura, while going to the Himālayas, crossed the river Śatadru and proceeded to the mount Kailāśa (A Study of the Mahāvastu, p. 118).

Vajrāvati Vajrāvati in Uttarāpatha was ruled by king Vajracanda (Bodhisattvavadāna Kalpalatā, 103rd, p. 4).

Puṣkarāvati or Puṣkalāvati Puṣkarāvati is referred to in the Bodhisattvavadāna Kalpalatā (32nd p. 40). The city is probably identical with Peukalautes of the Greek geographers which is the same as modern Peshawar.

The country of the Kirātas, Daradas, Cīnas and Hupas are referred to in the Lalitavistara (pp. 125-26).

Sākala The city of Sākala is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 434). It is doubtless identical with Sāgala (modern Sialkot in the Punjab), the city of the famous king Milinda.

The river Sindhu or Indus is referred to in the Divyāvadāna (p. 581). It is stated therein that Mahākātyāyana while proceeding towards the Madhyadeśa arrived on the Sindhu. (Athāyusmān Mahākātyāyano Madhyadeśam āgantukāmaḥ Sindhum anuprāptaḥ).

APARĀNTA OR WESTERN COUNTRY

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, ETC.

The Divyāvadāna (pp. 544 ff) refers to two great cities of the

Roruka time of the Buddha, e. g., Pāṭaliputra and Roruka.

The latter may be identical with Alor, an old city of Sindh. Roruka

Sauvira in Sauvira, was ruled by King Rudrāyana who was killed by his son Śikhandi. As a punishment of this crime, the realm of Śikhandi was destroyed by a heavy shower of sand. Three pious men only survived, two ministers and a Buddhist monk. Bhīru, one of the two ministers, established a new city

there which was named Bhiruka or Bhirukaccha after him.

Bhṛgukaccha Thence probably came the name Bhṛgukaccha or Bharukaccha identical with Barygaza of Ptolemy (pp. 38, 152) and the Periplus of the Erythrean sea (pp. 40, 287) and modern Broach in Kathiawar. It was a rich and prosperous city thickly populated (Div. 545). The Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L. p. 92) refers to a goldsmith, Muktasāra by name, of Bharukaccha. The Lord Supāraka in his old age once undertook a voyage with a number of other merchants to trade with the inhabitants of a coast named Bharukaccha (Bodhisattvāvadāna, N. B. L., p. 51).

A brisk trade existed between Rājagṛha and Roruka. It is said that merchants from Rājagṛha went to Roruka for trade (Divyāvadāna, pp. 544 ff). King Rudrāyaṇa of Roruka was a contemporary of king Bimbisāra of Magadha, and they became intimate friends. The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā refers to Rauruka ruled by a famous king named Ūdrāyaṇa (40th, p. 4).

When the Buddha was dwelling at Śrāvastī, there lived contemporaneously at the city of Sūrpāraka a householder named Bhava (Divyāvadāna, pp. 24 ff). Sūrpāraka seems to have been an important centre of trade and commerce when merchants used to flock with merchandise (Ibid, pp. 42 ff). It is identical with modern Sopārā in Gujrat.

DAKṢINĀPATHA

COUNTRIES, CITIES, VILLAGES, MOUNTAINS, etc.

The Dakṣiṇāpatha or Southern country lay to the south of the river Sarāvatī, the town of Satakanmika and the Pāriyātra hill (Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna). The Janapadas of Āsmaka and Avantī were strictly speaking, included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. The Dakṣiṇāpatha is often referred to in the Mahāvastu, the Aśokāvadāna and the Gaṇḍavyūha. After the birth of the Bodhisattva Asita, a brahmin of Ujjayinī in Dakṣiṇāpatha came from the Himālayas to see the Bodhisattva (Mahāvastu, Vol. II. 30). While roaming in Dakṣiṇāpatha a self-exiled king of Kośala saw a shipwrecked merchant who was on his way to Kośala (Mahāvastu III, 850). On the day of Girivalgu-saṃgama, a festival was held at Śrāvastī, people assembled from all quarters of the city. Among

others there came Kubalayā, a dancing girl from Dakṣiṇāpatha (N. B. L., *Āśokāvadāna*, p. 35).

There in the village of Dharmagrāma in Dakṣiṇāpatha lived a brahmin named Śivirātra (Ibid, p. 92). The Dharmagrāma Gaṇḍavyūha (N. B. L. Ms. No. A 9) mentions a long list of place names which were all included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha. Important of them were : - Mount Sugriva in the country called Rāmavarta, Supratisthita of A number of Sāgara on the way to Lankā, Vajapura, a city place names of of Draviḍa, Samudravelāti to the east of Mahā-Dakṣiṇāpatha prabhu; Sumukha in the country of Śramaṇa-maṇḍala; city of Samantamukha in Mūlaka; Sarvagrāma of Tosala in Mitatosala; Utpalabhūti in Prthuraṣṭra; Kaliṅgavana; Potalaka Paśatmaṇḍala and Dvārāvati. Of these Mūlaka, Toṣala, Kaliṅgavana and Potalaka (Potala or Potana) are well known in Buddhist literature; others do not lend themselves to any definite identification. Śramaṇamaṇḍala may refer to modern Sravana Belgola in Mysore, once a stronghold of Jainism, and Supratisthita, to Paithan on the Godāvari.

Kaliṅga is referred to more than once in the Mahāvastu as an important kingdom. Renu, son of Disāmpati, Kaliṅga king of Kaliṅga, was once compelled, by the instigation of Mahāgovinda, the son of his family priest, to cede the six provinces of his father's empire, namely, Kalinga, Patlāna, Māheśavati, Vārāpaśi, Roruka and Mithilā to the refractory nobles (Mahāvastu, III. 204 ff.). Brahmadaṭṭa, a wicked king once reigned in Kaliṅga. He used to have Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas invited to his palace and devoured by wild animals (Mahāvastu, III. 361). Dantapura which is also referred to by Yuan Chwang was probably one of the capital cities of Kaliṅga¹ where ruled king Nālikela (Mahāvastu, III. p. 361). The alphabet of the Kaliṅga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Khaṇḍadīpa Bodhisattva (pp. 125-26). The Bodhisattva-vadāna Kalpalatā mentions a country named Khaṇḍadīpa burnt by the king of Kaliṅga (8th, p. 27).

1. See my Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 64.

The Vindhya-parvata is said to have been situated south of Avanti, and on it was Dṛti's hermitage (N.B.L. , Vindhya Parvata Bhadrakalpa-avadāna, p.44). The same text refers to the Vindhya forest on the outskirts of the mountain ranges (p. 46). The Vindhya mountain is referred to as having been adorned with flowers (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 1st p. 31).

Kiṣkindhyā mountain The Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā (24th, p. 19) refers to the Kiṣkindhyā mountain which according to the epic tradition was included in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Aśoka's tree was brought from Gandhamādana by Ratnaka, keeper of the hermitage, and was planted at the Gandhamādana back of canopy where the Blessed One showed miracles (Divyāvadāna, p. 157). In this mountain there lived a brahmin named Raudrākṣa who was well acquainted with miracles (Ibid, p. 320). According to the Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, this brahmin lived at the foot of the Gandhamādana mountain which was visited by the Buddha (5th, p.31, 25). The Gandhamādana hill is also referred to in the Lalita-vistara (p. 391).

In Aśvaghoṣa's Saundarānanda Kāvya there is a reference to the Mainākaparvata entering the river to check the course of the ocean (ch. VII. v. 40). The same story is also alluded to in the Rāmāyana which locates the Mainākaparvata in Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Malayācala is referred to as a mountain where Jimūtavāhana took shelter after giving up his sovereignty Malayācala (Bodhisattvāvadāna Kalpalatā, 108th, p. 12). Epic tradition locates the Malaya mountain in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

Citrakūṭa The Citrakūṭa hill is referred to in the Lalita-vistara (p. 391).

The island of Laṅkā is referred to in the Gaṇḍavyūha (N.B.L. p. 91), The " Laṅkāvatāra " is an account of a visit paid by Śākya to the king of Laṅkā and of his preachings in that island. The Laṅkāvatāra text refers to the Malaya mountain of Laṅkā (N.B.L. p. 113.).

Danḍakavana is referred to in the Lalitavistara (p. 316) where it is stated that for thousands of years in the once Danḍakavana burnt forest of Danḍakavana, even grass did not grow. Epic tradition locates the Danḍaka forest in the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

PRĀCYA OR EASTERN COUNTRY

The Prācyā country lay to the east of Puṇḍravardhana.

The alphabet of the Vāṅga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara as having been mastered by the Bodhisattva (pp. 125-26).

In the walled city of Gauḍa which had only one gate, Viravatī, was the presiding deity (N. B. L. , Svayambhū Gauḍa Purāṇa p. 256). Pracandadeva, king of Gauḍa, having abdicated his throne in favour of his son Śaktideva devoted himself to the service of the goddess Viravatī.

*PĀNCATANTRA STUDIES

BY

A. VENKATASUBBIAH

5. KING KACADRUMA

The story of *King Kacadruma* (*Kakuddruma*) is found in all the versions that are derived from Vasubhāga's recension¹ of the Pāncatantra, that is to say, in Du (1.1), Tantri (2a), Tantrai (36), and Tantai (1.2)². Among the (earlier) versions belonging to Viṣṇuśarma's recension of that book, it is found in T (1.8), Spl (1.10), and Pn (1.11) only :³ it is not found in Sp or Pa.

In Spl, the story is introduced by the verse —

yaktūś cābhyantarā yena bāhyās cābhyantari-kṛtāḥ |
*sa eva mṛtyum āpnoti yathā rājā Kakuddrumaḥ ||*⁴

and is, briefly, as follows :—

" There once lived in a jungle a jackal named Candarava. Overcome by hunger, he once entered a town and was there obliged to take shelter in a vat of indigo solution. When at last he managed to

* No. 1 of these *Studies* has been published in *Asia Major*, III, pp. 307-320, and nos. 2, 3, 4 in JBBRAS. Vol. 4, pp. 1-26 and Vol. 5, pp. 1-10. For explanation of the abbreviations used, see pp. 1 and 21 in JBBRAS. Vol. 4.

¹ Regarding the recensions of Vasubhāga and Viṣṇuśarma, see my article entitled " On the Reconstruction of the Pāncatantra " in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik* (ZII), 8, 228 ff.

² The names *Tantri*, *Tantrai* and *Tantai* are used by me here to denote the Pāñca. versions (or adaptations) current in Java, Siam and Laos respectively, and written in Middle Javanese, Siamese and Laotian. A detailed account of the *Tantri* is given by Dr. C. Hooykaas in his dissertation entitled " *Tantri, De Middelljavaansche Pāñcatantra-bewerking* " that was published in 1929 ; and a full translation (into the Dutch language) of it was published by the same scholar in 1931. Of the Siamese work, a French translation was published in 1924 by the late Prof. E. Lorgeou under the title " *Les Entretiens de Neng Tantrai* ". Of the Laotian Pāñca., a brief account, with synopses of its stories, was published by Prof. Finot in 1917 in Vol. 17 of the *Bulletin de l' Ecole Française d' Extrême Orient*.

The references here are to the above-named works of Hooykaas, Lorgeou and Finot.

³ The story is also found in Ks but not in So.

⁴ " He by whom intimate ones (i. e., persons of proved worth and loyalty) have been cast out and outsiders (i. e., unproved persons) admitted into the inmost circle, he alone, like King Kakuddruma, meets with death. "

steal back to the jungle, he found that his body was coloured a fast blue. Because of this blue colour, the lion, tiger, wolf and other denizens of the jungle did not recognize him as a jackal. They thought that he was a strange animal, and, being afraid, wanted to run away. Seeing this, the jackal called out to them and said: "O ye animals, why are ye afraid of me and want to run away? I have been created by Brahṃā to rule over the animals of the jungle who, up to now, have no ruler. Remain therefore, and live happily under my rule. I am known as King Kakuddrūma in all the three worlds". Hearing this, all the animals made obeisance to the jackal who bestowed offices on the lion, tiger and others, but wholly ignored his own kindred and kept them at a distance.

"Once, the jackal heard his kinsmen howling, and began immediately to howl with them. Seeing this, the lion and other animals perceived that he was a jackal, and saying, 'Ha, we have been deceived by this mean jackal', killed him on the spot just as he was attempting to escape."

The stories in T and Pn are similar to the above; but there is nothing said in these versions about the jackal calling himself Kakuddrūma. The introductory verses too in these versions read pāda d as *mūrkhaś Caṇḍaravo yathā* and say nothing about Kakuddrūma.¹

In all these versions, this story follows that of *The Louse and Bug*, and is related by the jackal Damansaka to the lion Piṅgalaka in order to enforce his warning that no good, but harm, would result by Piṅgalaka's keeping the bull Saṃjivaka in a confidential position and neglecting hereditary servants like himself.

The story however is not apposite in this connection. For, since the jackal became king only after he fell into the indigo-vat, there could be no question of his having had 'intimate (proved) servants' before that happening, or of his dismissing such servants.² And it is thus plain that the details related in the Spl-T-Pn

¹ T, in addition reads pāda c as *sa bhūman nīhataḥ śete*.

² It also seems to me very doubtful that the author of the *kathūsaṃgraha* verse has used the word *rājū* in pāda d (*yathā rājū Kukkuddrūmah*) in the unusual sense of 'king of animals.'

version of the story are not in conformity with the introductory verse, and that this version of the story does not fit into the context.

The story related in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai differs very widely from the above. In Du, the story is the first one in Book (*tantra*) I, and is related by the jackal Karataka to Davanaka to enforce his observation that, since the lion Pingalaka had estranged from himself trusty servants like themselves and put outsiders in positions of trust, he had nobody but himself to blame if he found himself in danger. It is introduced by the verse *abhyantaragatā bāhyā bāhyās cābhyantaram gṛhāḥ yair narā nidhanāḥ yānti yathā rājā Kacadrumaḥ* 1 and is, briefly, as follows:—

“King Mahādruma had a son named Kacadruma who did not in his boyhood cultivate the society of his elders but associated with evil-living men and was a slave to the seven kinds of *vyasana*. He became king after his father's death and through his evil ways became estranged from, and lost the services of, the chaplain, chamberlain, chancellor of the exchequer, commander of the armies, ministers and other loyal and trusted officers and feudatories. He then bestowed these offices on the rascally crew that formerly had been his playmates. The administration became every day worse and the people suffered sorely. Seeing this state of affairs, Kacadruma's cousin Simhabala attacked the kingdom. The old servants, friends, soldiers, and frontiersmen that had been disgraced by Kacadruma stood aloof; and many of the newly appointed servants ran away and some of them joined the enemy. The foolish Kacadruma being thus abandoned by all, was easily captured by the enemy.”

The stories in Tantri, Tantrai and Tantai are very similar to the above; but as these versions have joined on the story of *The Two Parrots* (= Du. 1. 14; Pn. 1, 29) to this, they all relate that King Kacadruma escaped from the enemy, and Tantai, Tantrai add further that he recovered his kingdom again from the enemy after defeating him with the help of the gold and the well-brought up parrot presented to him by the hermit. The name of the king

1 “Like King Kacadruma, the men by whom those in the inner circle are cast out, and outsiders taken into the inner circle, are overtaken by destruction”.

is given as Gajadruma, Kesadruma and Gardhuma respectively in these versions, and Tantri contains, besides, the introductory verse (of Du ?) in a corrupt form.

The four versions however all agree in saying (1) that Kacadruma was a king, (2) that he dismissed from office trusted servants of proved loyalty, and appointed incompetent outsiders (unproved persons) in their place, and (3) that he was abandoned by them when, following their maladministration and consequent disaffection of the people, the kingdom was attacked by enemies. These details, it will be noticed, are quite in conformity with the *kathūsaṃgraha* verse given above ; and it follows hence that the Du version of the prose story is original, ¹ and that of T-Spl-Pn unoriginal. The redactor of Ur-T ² (from which T, Ur-Spl, Spl and Pn are derived), while retaining the *kathūsaṃgraha* verse, seems to have substituted the story of *The Blue Jackal* (with the addition that the jackal changed his name into Kacadruma) in place of the original prose story ; and since this story was in disaccord with the *kathūsaṃgraha* verse, the redactors of T and Pn seem to have altered its fourth pāda so as to eliminate all reference to King Kacadruma. Even with this alteration, however, the discord between the two still persists, as we have seen above ; nothing has been (or can be) said in the story about loyal servants being dismissed, and the story itself continues to be repugnant to the context.

There seems to be a slight corruption in Du's version of the story. As we have seen, this version says only that King Kacadruma fell into the hands of his enemies, but does not say that he was killed by them. This, however, is what is said about him in the *kathūsaṃgraha* verse ; and it is hence probable that the original prose story contained a sentence or two that said that he was killed by the enemies, and that these sentences have been lost in Ur-Du.

¹ As I have pointed out in ZII. 8. 237, the story of King Kacadruma seems to be one of the stories that were contained in the original Pañcatantra.

² Regarding Ur-T, see ZII. 7. 31 and Edgerton's *Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, 2, 48.

The introductory verse too of Du seems likewise to be corrupt in pādas ab. As these pādas now stand, we have to construe the words in the following order: *yaiḥ abhyantaragatāḥ bāhyāḥ bāhyās ca abhyantarāṁ gatāḥ te narūḥ yathā rājā Kacadrūmo nidhanam yayau tathā nidhanam yūnti*; and the words *yaiḥ ... gatāḥ* do not make sense. I am therefore inclined to believe that the Spl reading *ty uktās cābhyantarā yena bāhyās cābhyantari-kṛtāḥ* is original and that this reading was later corrupted and assumed the form it now has in Du.

There are two other stories in the Pañcain whose case too the version contained in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai differs widely from that contained in T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn. One is the story of *The Ape and Officious Bird* (T. 1. 14; SP. 1. 13; Sy. 1. 12; Ar. 1. 12; Spl. 1. 17 and 4. 12; Pn. 1. 25 and 4. 19; Du. 3. 5-6; Tantri 12, Tantrai 47, Tantai 1. 11): the T-SP-Pa version of this story mentions a glowworm and relates that the irate ape destroyed the officious bird, while the Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai version mentions no glow-worm and relates that the ape destroyed, not the bird itself, but its nest.¹

The other is the story of *The Avaricious Jackal* (2.3 in T, SP, Spl, Sy, Ar; 2. 4 in Pn; Du. 5. 5; Tantrai 35; Tantai 2. 4). The T-SP-Spl-Pn-Pa version of this story is as follows:—

“A hunter who had killed a deer and was carrying home its body, came across and killed a wild bear, and was also killed by it. A hungry jackal that happened to pass by the place and saw the three carcasses, said to himself, ‘Aha, what luck! These carcasses will serve me as food for many days; and for the present I shall eat the sinew-cord with which the bow is strung and appease my hunger’. Accordingly he gnawed through the bow-string when one end of the bow rebounded, hit the jackal and killed him.”

The introductory verse of this story reads in T as *kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ na tu kūrṇyo ‘ti-saṁcayaḥ | ati-saṁcaya-śīlo ‘yaṁ dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ* and in SP as *kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ na tu kūrṇyo ‘ti-saṁcayaḥ | paśya saṁcaya-lubdhena dhanuṣūtmā vināśitaḥ*. The SP contains in addition the following *ākhyāna* verse

¹ Both versions of the story are contained in Du, Spl and Pn.

also : *vyādha eka-dinaṃ yāti dvi-dinaṃ mṛga-sūkarau | bahu-saṃ-
cayam etan me sāmpratam cūpa-bhakṣaṇam.*

According to the Du-Tantrai-Tantai version of the story¹ the three carcasses found by the hungry jackal were those of an elephant (who was killed by a hunter), hunter (who just after he had shot at the elephant, was bitten by a snake and died immediately thereafter), and snake (which was crushed and killed accidentally, by the hunter falling upon it).

The Tantai has the following *kathūsaṃgraha* verse : *atilobham
na kattabbam (kuru ?) lobham pamānato | atilobhassa dosena jambūko
dhanunā hato* which is in Pali and therefore undoubtedly un-
original, and Du,² the following *ākhyāna* verse : *saṃ-mūsaṃ tu
bhaven nāgaś cātur-mūsaṃ tu paṇṇagaḥ | dvi-mūsaṃ tu naraś caṇa
adya bhakṣyo dhanur-guṇaḥ.*

In the case of these two stories however, there are no means of determining which of the two versions, that contained in T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn or that in Du-Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai, is original and which later. To judge from the phraseology, the above-cited *ākhyāna* verse of the SP is without doubt unoriginal. The *ākhyāna* verse of Du, on the other hand, may perhaps be original, in which case it would follow that the Du version of the story is original, and the other version, not.

Both the above stories are contained in the *Itiopaḍeśa*, which in its introduction (*praślūkā*), mentions Viṣṇuśarman as the author of the Pañca. and professes to be based on that book of his, i. e., on his recension of the Pañcatantra. It is therefore of interest to note that its version of the story of *The Ape and Officious Bird* (3. 1), like that of Tantri-Tantrai-Tantai, makes no mention of the glow-worm, and relates that the apes destroyed the birds' nests.

On the other hand, its version of the story of *The Avaricious Jackal* (1. 6) is a mixed version. The beginning of the story relates, like the T-SP-Pa-Spl-Pn version, the death of the deer, wild boar and hunter. Then it abruptly introduces the snake by

¹ The story does not occur in the Tantri.

² Du does not contain any *kathā - saṃgraha* or introductory verse in connection with this story.

saying that 'the snake too was trampled to death by the two (i. e., the hunter and boar)', mentions that the hungry jackal saw four carcasses, those of the deer, hunter, boar and snake, and has also the following *ākhyāna* verse: *mūsam ekam naro yāti dvau mūsau mṛga-sūkarau | ahir eka-dīnam yāti adya bhakṣyo dhanur-guṇaḥ* which mentions the snake in pāda c. It is therefore evident that the story is made up of elements borrowed from both the T-SP-Ḍa-Spl-Pn version and the Du-Tantrai-Tantai version, that is, from the Pañcatantra versions of both Viṣṇuśarma's and Vasubhāga's recensions.

6. THE ORIGINAL FORMS OF SOME PAÑCATANTRA VERSES

Prof. Hertel has had occasion, in the course of the many books and articles that he has published about the Pañcatantra, to discuss in a full manner the readings contained in the several recensions of some typical verses in order to illustrate his statements and support his conclusions. He has, on such occasions, reproduced fully the readings contained in the Mss., pointed out their merits and defects, and determined therefrom what the original forms of the verses in question must have been, and how the corrupt readings must have arisen. In respect of many such verses, I agree with Hertel in the conclusions that he has arrived at regarding their original forms; but in respect of many others, it has seemed to me, after reading his writings, that the facts set forth by him do not always justify the conclusions that he has drawn. Similarly, the readings of some verses that are printed in the text of Prof. Franklin Edgerton's *Pañcatantra Reconstructed* too, are, it seems to me, not original. And I therefore propose in this article to discuss the readings of some of these verses,¹ and to determine what their original forms were.

Besides the material used by Hertel, namely, the different readings contained in the Mss. examined by him and reported by him in his editions of the several recensions, I have in addition made use here of the material contained in Durgasimha's Pañcatantra. Of this Pañca. version and its contents, I have given a detailed account in the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*:

¹ See in this connection, regarding the original form of T 2. 45 [= PR. 2. 27], *Asia Major*, III, 315; of T 1. 167 [= PR. 1. 158], JBBRAS. 4 (1928), 7; of T 3. 69 [= PR. 3. 57], JBBRAS. 5 (1929), 9; and of T 1. 186, p. 43 above.

in 6, 299 f. of that journal, I have reproduced in full all the Sanskrit verses that are cited by Durgasimha from the Sanskrit original of his version ; and in 7, 13 f. and 8, 229 f. , I have shown that his version of the Pañca. is, like the majority of the Pañca. versions written in Siamese, Laotian, Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, etc. and current in Further and Insul- India, derived from Vasubhāga's recension of that book.

The readings of Du therefore are of particular interest since it is derived from a source which is quite different from Viṣṇuśarma's recension of the Pañca. from which the Sanskrit versions T, SP, Spl, Pn,¹ etc. , are all derived ; and on those occasions when these Sanskrit versions read a stanza in different ways, the agreement of Du in a reading contained in one of them shows conclusively that that reading is original. Unfortunately, the great majority of the Sanskrit verses in Du are peculiar to this version, and there are only about a hundred verses in it that are found in T and other Sanskrit versions.

1. I begin with T 1. 5 (= PR. 1. 6 ; Du 6) which reads as follows :

*avyāpāreṣu vyāpāraṁ yo naraḥ kartum icchati ।
sa nara nihatāḥ śete kilotpātīva markataḥ ॥*

Pādas ab are found without change in SP, N, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du. In c, SP, Spl, Pn and Du have *eva* instead of *naraḥ* ; instead of *nihatāḥ*, these four read *nidhanam* and T B *pralayam*, and instead of *śete* all these five have *yūti*. In d, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du have *vānaraḥ* instead of *markataḥ*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of this verse is :

*avyāpāreṣu vyāpāraṁ yo naraḥ kartum icchati ।
sa eva nidhanaṁ yūti kilotpātīva vānaraḥ ॥*

as read by Du, SP, Spl and Pn. Edgerton however gives in his PR *sa eva nihatāḥ śete* as the original form of pāda c.

2. T 1. 21 (= PR. 1. 23) reads as follows :

*apūya-saṁdarśana-jām vipattim
upūya-saṁdarśana-jām ca siddhim ।
medhāvino nīti-vidāḥ prayuktām
puraḥ sphurantiṁ iva darśayanti ॥*

¹ The readings that are reproduced here of these versions are, for the most part, extracted from Edgerton's PR.

The variant readings are found in c only where, instead of °*vidah*, the SP Mss. have °*pada*, °*patha*, °*vidhi*; Hit. °*vidhi*, Spl and Pn, °*guna*; instead of *prayuktām*, SP has *prayuktāḥ*.

Hertel has opined (SP, p. LXVIII) that the SP reading °*prayuktāḥ* is a corruption and that T's reading of the verse is correct and original. He translates the verse as, "Die Weisen zeigen, dass der Misserfolg, welcher eintritt, wenn sich ein Nachteil zeigt, und der Erfolg, welcher eintritt, wenn sich ein Vorteil zeigt, mit dem der "Führung-" Kundigen verbunden sind [= von ihm abhängen] und vor diesem gleichsam aufleuchten [= er sieht sie voraus und richtet sich danach]". Edgerton, on the other hand, thinks (PR. 1. 23) that the original (and correct) reading of pāda c is *medhāvino nīti-vidhi-prayuktām* and translates the verse as, "The disaster that follows from the application of bad plans, and the success that follows from the application of good plans, are connected with the principles of polity, and shine forth in advance, so to speak, so that the intelligent can point them out." Both these scholars thus agree in interpreting *prayuktām* as 'is connected with; is bound up with', which is an impossible meaning for that word.

The fact is, that granting that the reading of the first two pādas is correct (and of this there can be no doubt since the same reading is found in all the versions), the word *prayuktām* (in the accusative case) is wholly out of place in the verse. The correct reading in c therefore is not *nīti-vidah* or *nīti-vidhi-prayuktām*, but *nīti-vidhi-prayuktāḥ* as read by the Mss. KT of the SP and indicated by the Mss. FHODG of the SP and by Hit. (see SP, p. LXVIII). This word means 'those that are appointed to look after the conduct of affairs of *nīti*' and denotes the ministers of the king; and the meaning of the verse is: "Wise ministers that are put in charge of the conduct of affairs of *nīti*, cause to appear, as it were, vividly, before one's eyes, the danger which is caused by an improper course (*apāya*), and the success which results from the proper course (*upāya*)".

The original and correct reading of the verse is therefore :

apāya-saṁdarśana-jām vipattim
upāya-saṁdarśana-jām ca siddhim |
medhāvino nīti-vidhi-prayuktāḥ
purāḥ sphurantīm iva darśayanti ||

3. T 1. 37 (= PR. 1. 37) reads as-

buddhimān anurakto 'yam ihobhayam ayam jaḍaḥ |
iti bhṛtya-vicārajño bhṛtyair āpūryate nrpaḥ ||

The variants are found in pāda b only ; instead of *ihobhayam*, N has *ihottamam*, Pn *abhakto 'yam*, SP *abhayo 'yam*, and one Ms. of T, *ito bhayam*. Instead of *janah*, SP has *jaḍaḥ*, and Hit. reads the pāda as *ayam śūra ito bhayam*.

Hertel (SP, p. LI) seems to think that the reading of T is correct and original ; so also does Edgerton, who, like Hertel, translates pādas ab as " This one is wise, this one faithful, this one both, that one foolish ". This is incorrect ; for, there is only one *ayam* in a, and it means, " This one is clever, devoted ". The word *ubhayam* too in the above reading refers to two qualities (*buddhi* and *anurakti*) which are not mentioned in pāda a ; and there is thus no doubt that the above reading is incorrect and corrupt. The correct reading is *ito bhayam* as is contained in one Ms. of T (compare also the reading of Hit. given above) ; and the reading *ihobhayam* is plainly a corrupt form of this reading. The meaning of pādas ab, with this reading, is, " This one is clever, devoted ; from this one, there is danger (to be apprehended) ; this one is stupid " ; compare T 1. 48 : *kim bhaktenūsamarthana kim śaktenāpakārñā | bhaktaṃ śaktaṃ ca mūṃ rājan yathūvaj jñātum arhasi*. The original and correct reading of the verse is therefore.

buddhimān anurakto 'yam ito bhayam ayam jaḍaḥ |
iti bhṛtya-vicārajño bhṛtyair āpūryate nrpaḥ ||

4. T 1. 30 (= PR. 1. 30 ; Du 12) reads as-

dantasya vā niṣkuṣaṇena rājan
karnasya kaṇḍūyanakena vā 'pi |
irṇena kāryaṃ bhavatiśvarāṇām
kim aṅga vāg-ghastavatā janena ||

The variants are found in a, d only. In a, instead of *vā niṣkuṣaṇena*, the SP Mss. have *saṅgharṣaṇakena* or *nirgharṣaṇakena*, Hit, Du and N *nirgharṣaṇakena*, Spl and Pn *niṣkoṣaṇakena* ; instead of *rājan*, Spl has *nīyam*. In d, some SP Mss. have *aṅghri* and Pn *nāma* instead of *aṅga* ; instead of *vāg-ghastavatā*, SP, N, Hit. and Du have *vāk-pāṇimatā*, and Pn *vākyāṅgavatā* ; and instead of *janena*, SP, N, Hit, Du, Spl and Pn all have *nareṇa*.

Regarding the words *niṣkuṣaṇa*, *niṣkoṣaṇaka*, *nirgharṣaṇaka* and *saṅgharṣaṇaka*, the first two are derived from the root *kuṣ* with *nis*, signifying 'to extract, tear, draw out; to husk, to shell; to injure or hurt by tearing', and have therefore nothing to do with the idea of tooth-pick. The latter two words are derived from the root *ghṛṣ* with the prefixes *nir* and *saṁ* respectively; but while the word *nirgharṣaṇaka* is used in the sense of 'tooth-cleaner, dentifrice' (see Apte), the words *saṅgharṣaṇaka* is not so used. In fact, no instance is met with of the use of this word anywhere in any sense whatever. It is clear therefore that *nirgharṣaṇaka* is the proper word to use in pāda a, and that it is the original reading. This is shown, besides, by the agreement of Du with SP, N and Hit.

Similarly, the agreement of Du with SP, N and Hit. shows that the original reading of pāda d is, *kim aṅga vāk-pūṇimatā nareṇa*. The original form of the verse is thus —

dantasya nirgharṣaṇakena rūjan
karṇasya kaṇḍūyanakena vā' pi |
tṛṇena kār्याṇi bhavatīśvarāṇām
kim aṅga vāk-pūṇimatā nareṇa ||

5. T 1. 54 (= PR. 1. 55; Du 44) reads as —

jambuko huḍu-yuddhena vāyaṁ cāśūḍhabhūtīnā |
dūtīkū tantravāyena trayo 'narthūh svayaṁ kṛtūh ||

In a, instead of *huḍu*°, SP and Du read *meṣa*°, T B and Pn, *huḍa*°. In c, SP and Du have *tantu*° instead of *tantra*°, Spl *nūpi* for *dūtīkū*, and Pn *para-kāryeṇa* instead of *tantravāyena*. In d, Spl and Pn have *dosūh* instead of 'narthūh. The agreement of Du and SP shows that the original reading of the verse is :

jambuko meṣa-yuddhena vāyam cāśūḍhabhūtīnā |
dūtīkū tantuvāyena trayo 'narthūh svayaṁ kṛtūh ||

6. T 1. 56 (= PR. 1. 57; Du 45) reads as —

saṇṇasya kār्याsya samudbhavārtham
āgāmino 'rthasya ca saṅgrahārtham |
anārtha-kārya-pratishedhanārthain
yo mantriyate 'sau paramo hi manirah ||

In a, instead of *saṇṇasya*, Du reads *āsanna*°, N and SP *bhraṣṭasya* and one Ms. of it *naṣṭasya*; instead of *samudbhavārtham*, SP and Du

read *samuddharārtham*. In c, SP and N have °*pratighālanārtham* instead of °*pratiśedhanārtham*; and in d, SP, N, Du have *yan* instead of *yaḥ*. The verse does not occur in Spl and Pn.

The word *āsanna*° in Du's reading is used in the rare sense (see Apte) of ' which is about to go down ; which is on the point of sinking ', that is, ' which is on the point of failure ; which is about to become hopeless to accomplish ' ; and this indicates that the reading is not due to the caprice of some copyist or redactor, but must be the original one of the author himself of the Pañca. This view is confirmed by the readings *bhraṣṭasya kār्याsya*, *sannasya kār्याsya* and *naṣṭasya kār्याsya* found in other recensions, which all appear clearly to be paraphrases of the original reading. It seems very likely therefore that the redactors of these versions, finding that *āsanna*° in the original was used in a rare sense, replaced it by an equivalent word. For the rest, *samuddharārtham* is manifestly more appropriate (it means ' for the purpose of lifting up ' and is correlated with *āsanna*° in *āsanna-kār्याsya*) than *samudbhavārtham* ; and the agreement of Du and SP shows that it is the original reading. Similarly, the agreement of Du and T shows that the original reading in c is °*pratiśedhanārtham*, and the agreement of Du with SP and N that the original reading in d is *yan* and not *yaḥ*.

The original form of the above verse is therefore :

āsanna-kār्याsya samuddharārtham
āgāmno 'rthasya ca saṃgrahārtham |
anartha-kār्या-pratiśedhanārtham
yan mantryate 'sau paramo hi mantrah ||

as read by Du.

7. T 1. 68 (= PR. 1. 69 ; Du 60) reads as —

na so 'sti puruso rājñām yo na kāmayate śrīyam |
aśaktā-bhāgna-n.ūnās tu narendram pary-upāsate ||

In a, Du has *cīsti* instead of *so 'sti*, and SP, N, and Hit. /oke for *rājñām*. Du reads c as *aśaktōh śrīyam ānctum*, SP as *aśaktū bhāgnamūnās tu*, Spl as *aśaktū eva sarvatra*, Pn as *na śaktir yāvad anyūpi*; and Hit. and N as *parasya yuvalīm ramyām*. For d, Hit. and N have *sākāṅkṣām ne'ṣate 'tha kṛh*, and Pn *tūvat saṃsevate param*.

The agreement of Du and T shows that *rājñām* is the original reading in a, and *narendram pary-upāsate* in d; and in c, the reading

aśaktāḥ śrīyam ānetum yields a better meaning than the others with *narendram pary-upāsate* and seems therefore to be original; compare Pn's reading of *cd*. Of the two readings *cāsti* and *so 'sti* in *a*, there is nothing to show which is original, but the latter seems to be the better reading. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be :

na sosti puruṣo rājñām yo na kāmāyate śrīyam |
aśaktāḥ śrīyam ānetum narendram pary-upāsate ||

8. T 1. 71 (= PR. 1. 71 ; Du 55) reads as —

yasmīn evādhikāṁ cakṣur āropayati pūrvhivah |
sute vā tat-kulīne vā sa lakṣmīḥ harate manah ||

In *a*, Du has *bhāram* for *cakṣur*, and Pn, *api* for *eva*. Spl reads *c* as *akulīnaḥ kulīno vā*, Pn *ajñāte vā*, Hit. and N. *sute 'mātye 'py-udāsine*, and the SP Mss. as *ah o vā kulīno vā* and *sute vā svakulīne vā*. Spl reads *d* as *sa śrīyo bhājanam narah*, SP, *sa rūjyam abhikūṣati*, Hit. and N, *sa lakṣmīḥ drīyate* (v. l. **śrīyate*) *janah*, and Du, *sva-lakṣmīḥ harate tadā*.¹

It is obvious that, in *a*, Du's reading *bhāram āropayati* is the correct one, and that the reading *cakṣur āropayati* found in the other recensions is a mere senseless combination of words and incorrect.²

In *c*, the agreement of Du and T shows that *sute vā tat-kulīne vā* is the original reading. In *d*, the reading of T does not fit the context; for the verse, according to T, says that the person on whom the king places more responsibility than usual captivates the mind of Lakṣmī. What the speaker (Damanaka) wants to say is, however not that Lakṣmī is captivated by such a person, but that such person allows his mind to be captivated by Lakṣmī, that is, casts covetous eyes on Lakṣmī, and is a traitor. Compare the sentence *ata evāyam doṣaḥ vyudāsya sarvaṁ mṛga-jaṇaṁ yasyopary āsthā pratibaddhā so 'yam adhunā svāmītram abhi-*

¹ The reading *sa lakṣmīḥ harate manah* that is printed in ZII. 6, 303 as the fourth pāda is due to oversight.

² The translations of Hertel (" Aufwender König allzugütig [wörtlich : allzusehr] sein Auge richtet ") and Edgerton (" If a king shows too much regard for one person ") of pādas *ab* do not contain the equivalent of the words *āropayati* and *cakṣur āropayati* respectively.

vāñchati that immediately precedes this verse in T and the corresponding passages in SP, Spl, Pn, Hit. and Du ; compare also T. Ab. 54 : *sa tūvad drohī*. The original reading therefore is not *sa lakṣmyā harate manaḥ* but *sa lakṣmyā hriyate manaḥ* as is indicated by the corrupt readings (*driyate* ; *śriyate*) of Hit. and N. The original form of the verse is thus without doubt—

yasminn evādhikam bhūram āropayati pūrthivaḥ |
sute vū tat-kulīne vū sa lakṣmyā hriyate manaḥ ||

The meaning of the verse is : “ Whomsoever the king entrusts with more responsibility than is usual, whether son or one belonging to his family, his mind is captivated by Lakṣmī ”.

9. T. 1. 89 (= PR. 1. 88 ; Du 89) reads as—

ācāryā nara-patayaś ca tulya-śilā
na hy eṣām paricitīr asti sauhṛdam vū |
śuśrūṣām cīram api samcitām prayatnāt
samkruddhā raja iva nāśayanti meghāḥ ||

Outside T, this verse is found in Du only which reads *paricitam* instead of *paricitīh* in b, and *sambhṛtam* instead of *samcitam* in c. In this latter pāda, *sambhṛtam* is decidedly the better reading; for the word *samcitā*, though it is appropriate to *rajas*, does not suit *śuśrūṣā* as an attribute, while *sambhṛta*, on the other hand, is a quite appropriate word to be used with *śuśrūṣā* and with *rajaḥ* also. Compare the passages cited under *cira-sambhṛtam* in the PW, s. v. *bhar*. There can be no doubt therefore that *sambhṛtam* was the original reading and that *samcitam* is a corruption of it. In pāda b, there is little to choose between the readings *pāricitam* and *paricitīh*. The former however balances with the word *sauhṛdam* that follows in the same pāda and may therefore be original, and the latter secondary. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be,

ācāryā narapatayaś ca tulya-śilā
na hy eṣām paricitam asti sauhṛdam vū |
śuśrūṣām cīram api sambhṛtām prayatnāt
samkruddhā raja iva nāśayanti meghāḥ ||

which is the reading of Du.

10. T 1. 99 (= PR. 1. 98 ; Du 97) reads as —

*snigdhair eva hy upakṛti-gaṇair dveṣyatam eti kaścic
cchāthyat anyair apakṛti-śataḥ prītim evopayāti ।
durgṛahyatvān nīpati-manasaṁ naika-bhāvaśrayaṇaṁ
seva-dharmāḥ parama-gaṇaṁ yogināṁ apy agamyah ॥*

In a, for *snigdhair eva*, the SP. Mss. read *citraṁ snigdhair* and *prājñāḥ snigdhair*, Hit. and N, *viññāḥ snigdhair*, Spl and Pn, *bhāva-snigdhair*; for *hy upakṛti-gaṇair*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit., and N have *upakṛtam api*, and Du, *apy upakṛtam api*; for *eti*, Spl has *yāti*; and for *kaścic*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, N and Du have *kim cit*. In b, for *śāthyāt*, SP, Hit. and N have *sāksāt*, and Du, *snigdhāt*; for *apakṛti-śataḥ*, SP, Spl, Pn, Hit, and Du have *apakṛtam api*, and N, *upakṛtam api*; for *prītim evopayāti*, Spl reads *prīṭaye copayāti*, N, *prītim evūpa-yāti*, and Du, *prītim evūtanoti*. In c, for *durgṛahyatvāt*, Spl has *durgūhatvāt* and Du *durgṛahyatvam*; for °*mana-ām*, SP (some Mss.) and Du have *vacasām*; and for *naika°*, Du has *eka°*. In d, N has *gaṇanam* instead of *gaṇaṁ*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the verse reads originally as :

*snigdhair eva hy upakṛtam api dveṣyatām eti kin ci
snigdhāt anyair apakṛtam api prītim evūtanoti ।
durgṛahyatvān nīpati-vacasām naika-bhāvāśrayaṇām
seva-dharmāḥ parama-gaṇaṁ yoginām apy agamyah ॥*

11. T 1. 100 (= PR. 1. 99; Du 94) reads as —

*gana-gaṇajñeṣu prajñābhavanti
te nirguṇāṁ prapya bhavanti doṣāḥ ।
susvādu-toya-pravahā hi nadyaḥ
samudram āśādyā bhavanty apeyāḥ ॥*

This verse does not occur in Spl and Pn. In a, SP, (some Mss.), N and Du read *guṇāḥ* instead of *guṇī*—. In b, some SP Mss. have *nirguṇān* for *nirguṇam*. In c, instead of *susvādu-toya-pravahā hi*, SP has *susvādu-toya-prabhavā hi* and Du *susvādu-toyāḥ pravahanti*.

The reading *guṇā bhavanti* is, in a, obviously the correct one.¹ Similarly, in c, the reading of SP is obviously better than that of T (a compound like *susvādu-toya-pravaha* with *pravaha* as the last

¹ For, the suffix *evī* (Pāṇini 5. 4 50 and *vārttika*) is to be added in the sense of *abhūta-tadbhāva*, which is not suited to *guṇī*— in this verse.

member is not met with elsewhere). That of Du, however, seems to be still better ; for the word *pravahanti* in c balances with the word *bhavanti* in d, and the second half of the stanza becomes thus similar to the first half with its two balanced verbs. The original form of the verse seems to me therefore to be —

*guṇa guṇajñeṣu guṇā bhavanti
te nṛguṇaṇi prāpya bhavanti doṣaḥ ।
sṁvādu-toṣaḥ pravahanti nadyaḥ
samudram āsadya bhavanti apyāḥ ॥*

as is read by Du.

12. T 1. 105 (= PR. 1. 104 : Du 93) reads as —

*araṇya-ruditaṇi kṛtāṁ śava-śavīram ndvartitam
sthale 'byam acaroṣitaṁ badhira-karṇa-japaḥ kṛtaḥ ।
śva-ṣuccham acanomitāṁ suciram uṣare varṣitam
kṛta 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍanā yad abudhe janaḥ secitaḥ ॥*

Pn reads the last three pādas as *sthale kamala-roṣayam suciram uṣare varṣayam । śvaṣuccham acanomitāṁ badhira-karṇa-japaḥ kṛtas tad andhamukha-maṇḍanā yad abudhe janaḥ bhaṣitam*. SP reads *sthale kamala-roṣayam* instead of *byam acaroṣitam* in b, *satatam* instead of *suciram* in c, and *kṛto 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇe* in d. Du too reads *satatam* in c (but one Ms. has however *suciram*) and *dhṛto 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇe* in d (but one Ms. has *tad andha-mukha-darpaṇam*).

Here, it is obvious that the readings *kṛtā 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍanā* and *tad andha-mukha-maṇḍanam* of T and Pn are unsatisfactory, and that the word *maṇḍana* in them is a corruption of the word *darpaṇa* which is found in SP and Du. The holding of a *darpaṇa* or mirror before the face of a blind man is just as useless as the whispering of a mantra into the ears of a deaf person or the massaging of the limbs of a corpse ; for the persons concerned are, in none of these cases, aware of the holding of the mirror, etc. : they do not derive the least benefit from it, and these actions are thus quite futile. It is otherwise with the *maṇḍana* or adorning of a blind man's face. The *maṇḍana* of the face, whether of a blind man or of one who can see, is by its very nature intended to please or attract other persons, and serves that purpose whether the person concerned can see or not. It cannot therefore be said to be futile, as the holding of a mirror before a blind man's face undoubtedly is.

Darpana, thus, is clearly the original reading in pāda d; so therefore is the word *dhṛta* also. Similarly, in c, *suciram* is better than *sataṭam* and seems to be the original reading.

The original form of the verse is thus what is read by T, with *dhṛto 'ndha-mukha-darpaṇo* instead of *kṛtā 'ndha-mukha-maṇḍanū* in d.

13. T 1. 111 (= PR. 1. 110) reads as —

*kanala-madbunas tyaktvā pānān tihāya navotpalam
prakṛti-sulabhām gandhoddāmām apasya ca mālātīm |
śaṭha-madbukarāḥ śliṣyantīme kaṭambusu dantīnām
sulabham apahūyāvaṁ lokāḥ kaṭeṣu nibhanyate ||*

Pn reads *jala-madhukarāḥ kṣiṣyantīme* and *sulabham apahūyāvaṁ lokāḥ khaleṣv anurajyate* in c and d: and the SP Mss. read *anurajyate*, *abhirajyate* and *hi rajyate* in d after *sujanam apahūyāvaṁ lokāḥ khaleṣu*. In b, Pn has *prakṛti-surabham* instead of *°subhaqām*, and N *gandhair ādhyam* instead of *gandhoddāmām*. In d, N has *avahūyo yam* instead of *apahūyāvaṁ*.

Hertel has discussed the readings of this verse on SP, p. LXX and arrived at the conclusion that the correct and original reading is *śliṣyanti* in c and *kaṭeṣu nibhanyate* in d. According to him, *kaṭa* in d has the sense of *kaṭaka*, 'camp, army, court of a king,' and the poet who has used the word in c (in *kaṭāmbusu*) uses it again in d in a different sense: the meaning of d is, "So verlassen [auch] die [meisten] Menschen das leicht zu Erlangende, um in den Hofen der Fürsten getötet zu werden."

All this seems to me to be improbable. It is, in the first place, very unlikely that *kaṭa* = *kaṭaka* and denotes the court of a king; nor is it true that 'most men go to the courts of kings' and 'are killed there.' Pādas a, b, c of the verse, it will be seen, form the *dr̥ṣṭānta* and pāda d, the *dār̥ṣṭāntika*; but while the *dr̥ṣṭānta* speaks of bees clinging to the *mada-jala* of elephants, the *dār̥ṣṭāntika* speaks of men being killed. That is to say, there is no congruity between the *dr̥ṣṭānta* and the *dār̥ṣṭāntika*, which shows that T's reading of the verse is not original (as Hertel opines), but contains corruptions.

It is the opinion of Edgerton (PR. 2, 107 f.) that *kṣiṣyanti* is the correct reading in c, and *kaṭeṣu hi rajyate* in d; but *kaṭa* is here regarded by him as the Prakrit form of *kṛta* 'the best throw of

dice' and pāda d, according to him, means, "Foolish and greedy men renounce safe and sure good fortune to pursue the alluring but allusive 'easy money' that luck in gambling would bring."

That the word *kata* is used by the author in d in the sense of 'the best throw of dice' seems to me to be very unlikely; and even if it were, it is not correct to interpret it as 'luck in gambling.' Nor, considering that money won in gambling is 'easy money,' is there any contrast between *śulabham* and *kaṭa*. Moreover, in Edgerton's reading too there is no congruity between the verb *klīṣyanti* in the *dṛṣṭānta* and *rajyate* in the *dūrṣṭāntika*; and it becomes plain that this reading also is corrupt.

The correct and original reading is therefore without doubt *jaṭa*° in b, *śleṣyanti* in c and *sujanam* and *khaṭeṣv anurajyate* in d; and the meaning of d is, "The (foolish) world thus turns away from good people and attaches itself to rogues", in the same way as the foolish bees, turning away from the lotus, blue-lotus and mālati, attach themselves to the *mada-jala* of the elephants. It will be noted that, with this reading, there is perfect congruity between the *dṛṣṭānta* and *dūrṣṭāntika*.

14. T 1. 120 (= PR. 1. 119; Du 102) reads as —

*midunā salileṇa khanyamānāny
apakṣyanti girer api śthalāni
upajāpa-kṛtolyamais tu tajjānāḥ
kimu cetāṇsi midunā mānavaṇām u*

In a, Du has *bhedyamānāni* for *khanyamānāni*; in b, Pn has *avapusyanti* instead of *apakṣyanti*. Pn reads c as *upajāpa-vidān ca karna-jūpaḥ*, and Du as *upajāpaka-karna-jāpaka-vaughah*.

The reading *khanyamānāni* in a is unsatisfactory; for though it can be used appropriately with *giri-śthalāni*, it is not appropriate in connection with *mānava-cetāṇsi*. The word *bhedyamānāni*, on the other hand is apposite in connection with *giri-śthalāni* and with *mānava-cetāṇsi* also. Compare T 1. 121; *bhinatti samyak prahito bhedat śhīram-matīm api bhūdhārūn saṁhata-śītān mahān va rayo mbhasām*. This verse is in fact a paraphrase of the above verse (T 1. 120), and *mati* here = *cetas*.

In b, the word *avapusyanti* found in Pn has no sense, and is clearly a corruption of *apakṣyanti* which is found in T and Du. In d, T's reading means 'by those who know how to whisper

in ears and have made efforts to whisper into ears,' Pn's reading, 'by whispered insinuations of those who are clever in whispering such insinuations,' and Du's, 'by crowds of tale-bearers and slanderers'. This last is plainly the best of the three; and the original form of the verse is thus the reading found in Du.

15. T 1. 125 (= PR. 1. 124; Du 120 reads as —

śatror ākrandam ajñātva vairam ārabhate hi yaḥ |
sa parābhavam āpuoti samudra iva tṭṭibhāt ||

Pn, Spl and Du read *a* as *śatror balam avijñāya*, and SP, N have *vikramam* instead of *ākrandam*. In *b*, instead of *ārabhate*, N has *ākramate*, and Du and one Ms. of SP, *ācarate*; and instead of *hi*, SP, Spl, Pn and Du have *tu*. In *d*, SP, Du have *tṭṭibhāt* instead of *tṭṭibhāt*, and Spl, Pn read the pāda as *samudras tṭṭibhāt iva*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that found in Du.

16. T 1. 136 (= PR. 1. 130; Du 131) reads as —

kāryāṇy uttama-daṇḍa-sāhasa-phalāṇy āyāsa-sādhyāni ye
prītya saṁśamayanti nīti-kuśalāḥ saṁnaiva te mantriṇaḥ |
nissāralpa-phalāni ye tv avidhinā vāñchanti daṇḍodyamais
teṣāṃ durnaya-ceṣṭitair narapater ūropyate śris tulām ||

In *a*, instead of *°phalāni*, Du has *°mayāni*, in *b*, instead of *prītyā*, Spl has *buddhyā*, and instead of *saṁśamayanti* Du has *saṁnamayanti*; in *c*, for *daṇḍodyamais*, Du has *daṇḍādhamās*; and Du has *durnaya°* in *d*, (with cerebral *n*) for *durnaya*.

Du's reading *daṇḍādhamās*, in *c* does not fit into the context and is clearly a corruption of the original reading *daṇḍodyamais*. Equally clearly is T's reading *saṁśamayanti* a corruption of the original reading *saṁnamayanti*. The root *saṁ* + *śam*, in the causative, means 'to extinguish, to still, to allay, to appease, etc.; *beschwichen, auflöschen, beruhigen*'; and the expression *kāryāṇi saṁśamayanti* 'they extinguish, allay or appease the affairs' does not make much sense. The root *saṁ* + *nam*, on the other hand, means, in the causative, 'to set right, to bring about, to effect; *zurechtbringen, zuwegebringen*' and the expression *kāryāṇi saṁnamayanti* 'they

accomplish the tasks' fits well into the context of the verse. The original form of the verse is thus :

*kāryāṇy uttama-daṇḍa-sāhasa-phalāṇy āyāsa-sādhyāni ye
prīṭyā saṃnamayanti nīti-kuśalāḥ sāmnaiva te mantriṇaḥ ॥
nissārālpa-phalāni ye tv avidhinā vāñchanti daṇḍodyamais
teṣāṃ durṇaya-ceṣṭitair narapater āropyate śrīḥ tulām ॥*

17. T 2. 90 (= PR. 2. 55) reads as —

*na svalpam apy avyavasāya-bhīroḥ
karoti vijñāna-vidhir guṇam hi ।
andhasya kinḥ hasta-tala-sthito 'pi
nīvartayaty āndhyam iha pradīpaḥ ॥*

Pn, Hit, and SP all read *adhyavasāya*^o in a instead of *avyavasāya*^o, and *artham* instead of *āndhyam* in d. Further, in d, instead of *nīvartayati*, Pn has *nīvartayet*, Hit. *prakāśayati*, and the SP Mss. *nīdarśayati*, *saṃdarśayati*; one Ms. has *nīrvartayati* with *itiya* however deleted by the writer.

It is the opinion of Hertel (SP. p. LXIV) that *avyavasāya-bhīroḥ* 'unentschlossen and furchtsam' is decidedly better than *adhyavasāya-bhīroḥ* 'ein sich vor einem festen Entschlusse Furchtender', and that Pn's understanding of *nīvartayati* in the sense of 'verschafft' and of *artham nīvartayati* as 'causes a thing to disappear' is incongruous with pāda b which speaks of the accruing of an advantage (*guṇam karoti*), which the removal of blindness undoubtedly is.

This is wrong. As observed by Hertel himself (I. E.) *dhyā* in Śāradā Mss. is very similar to *vyā* (compare for instance the reading *avyavasāya*^o of the Mss. R and p in T 3. 127 instead of *adhyavasāyabhirubhiḥ*); and the agreement among Pn, Hit, and SP shows beyond doubt that *adhyavasāya*^o is the original reading in a, and also *artham* in d. *Adhyavasāya-bhīru* does not mean 'ein sich vor einem festen Entschlusse Furchtender' as Hertel believes, or 'one who is afraid to be resolute' as Edgerton translates, but 'one who is afraid of exertion; one who draws back from the idea of exerting himself; an *alasa*'; and the meaning of the first half-

verse is "The acquisition of knowledge does not confer even the slightest benefit on one who shrinks from exertion". This verse forms part of a harangue which the tortoise Manthara(ka) addresses to the mouse Hiranya(ka) on the desirability of one's putting forth one's exertion, and the whole context shows that this verse, like the preceding¹ and following² verses, is concerned with the extolling of *udyoḡa*, *kriyā* or *vyavasāya*, 'industry', and the decrying of the opposite: firm resolves and fear have nothing to do here.

In d, Edgerton prints *nivartayaty artham* as the original reading and understands it to mean 'does good'. It is, however, doubtful if *ni-vartay* signifies 'to accomplish', and I am inclined to believe that the original reading is *nirvartayati* (cp. in this connection the reading *nirvattiyati* of the Sp Ms. referred to above). The meaning of the second half-verse is, "what purpose, now, does a lamp, even when held in the hand, serve to a blind person?"

The original form of the verse seems thus to have been :

*na svalpam apy adhyavasāya-bhīroḥ
karoti vijñāna-vidhir guṇaṃ hi |
andhasya kiṃ hasta-tala-sthito 'pi
nirvartayaty artham iba pradiḡaḥ ||*

18. T 3. 1 (= PR. 3. 1 ; Du 154) reads as—

*na viśvaset purva-parājitasya
śatroḡca mīratvam upāgatasya |
dagdhaṃ guḡhaṃ paśyata ghṛka-parṇaṃ
kaka-praṇītena butāśanena ||*

In a, instead of °*parājitasya*, SP, Spl, Pn, and Du have °*virodhi tasya*, and N, °*virodhiteḡu*. In b, SP has *tu* and Du (and one Ms.

¹ *śāstrāṇy adhītyāpi bhavanti mūrkhā
yaḡ tu kriyāvān puruḡaḡ sa vidvān |
ullāghayaty āturam auḡadham hi
kiṃ nāma-mātreṇa bhavaty aroḡaḡ ||* (T ; p. 87, 1 ff.)

² *tad bhadra nityam udyoga-pareṇa bhavitavyam |
na daivam iti samcintya tyajed udyogaṃ ātmanaḡ |
anudyogena kaḡ tailaṃ¹ tilebhyaḡ prāptum icchati ||
udyuktānāṃ hy āyānti dhana-bhogaḡ iti |* (T ; p. 87, 22 ff.)

of SP) *hi* for *ca* ; N reads the pāda as *dviṣatsu mitratvam upāgateṣu*. In c, SP has *dagdhān gṛhān* for *dagdhūṃ guhām*, and SP, Spl and Du, *paśya ulūka-pūrṇām* for *paśyata ghūka-pūrṇām* ; in d, N has *kākopanītena*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that found in Du.

19. T 3. 70 (= PR. 3. 58 ; Du 179) reads as—

anārambhas tu kāryāṇām prathamam buddhi-lakṣaṇam |
ārabdhasyāntagaṃanām dvitīyam buddhi-lakṣaṇam ||

In a, Pn has *hi* for *tu*, and SP and Du *manuṣyāṇām* for *tu kāryāṇām*. In c, for *ārabdhasya*, SP has *ārambhasya*, and Du, Pn and one Ms. of T have *prārabdhasya*. This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the verse is that which is found in Du.

20. T 3. 73 (= PR. 3. 60 ; Du 186) reads as—

hinaḥ śatrur nibhantavyo yāvan na balavān bhavet |
saṃjāta-bala-pauruṣyaḥ paścād bhavati durjayaḥ ||

In a, SP, N. and T read *hīna-* instead of *hinaḥ*. In c, instead of *°bala-pauruṣyaḥ*, some Mss. of SP have *°bala-pakṣaś ca*, Pn, *°pauruṣa-balaḥ*, and Du *°bala-pauṣkalyaḥ*. The original form of the verse is therefore that found in Du.¹

21. T 3. 92 (= PR. 3. 78 ; Du 195) reads as —

varam agnau pradīpte tu prapātaḥ puṇya-karmaṇām |
na cāri-jana-saṃsargo muhūrtam api sevitaḥ ||

This is the reading of Pn also. Du however reads pāda b as *prāṇānām parivarjanam*, and *°saṃsarge* and *sevanam* in c and d.

It is obvious that Du's reading of cd is inferior to that of T and Pn. His reading of b, on the other hand, seems to be better ; for I see no point in the use of the word *puṇya-karmaṇām*, as the association with enemies, even for a short time, causes poignant distress to all people, to those who have good *karman* as also to

¹ For *saṃjāta-bala-pauṣkalyaḥ* = *saṃjāta-bahu-balaḥ* or *atyantam balavān*. *saṃjāta-bala-pauruṣyaḥ*, on the other hand, signifies 'grown strong and vallant'.

others. It seems to me therefore that Du's reading of pāda b, which is the better one, is original, and that the verse thus originally read as :

*varam agnau pradīpte tu prāṇānāṃ parivarjanam ।
na cāri-jana-samsargo mulburtam api sevitaḥ ॥*

22. T 3. 107 (= PR. 3. 73 ; Du 200) reads as -

*skandhenāpi vabec chatruṇi kalam āsādy buddhimān ।
vabata kṛṣṇa-sarpeṇa maṇḍuka vinipātitaḥ ॥*

In a, SP, Hit. read *śatrūn* instead of *śatrum* ; in b, SP has *kāryam* instead of *kālam* and Du reads the pāda as *kārya-sādhana-buddhimān*. In c, SP, N, Pn have *mahatā* instead of *vahatā*, and Hit. reads the pāda as *yathā vṛddhena sarpeṇa*. Pāda d is read by Pn as *maṇḍūkā bahavo hatāḥ* and by Du as *maṇḍūko vinipātitaḥ*.

The agreement of T and Du shows that, in a, the original reading is *śatrum* (singular) and not *śatrūn*; and it follows hence that, in d too, the original reading is *maṇḍūko vinipātitaḥ* (singular)² and not *maṇḍūkā vinipātitaḥ* (plural). The Du reading *maṇḍūkāḥ* is moreover supported by Du 197 : *vahed amītram* (singular) *skandhena* and Du 199 : *kiṃ na jñāmy ahaṃ bhadre yadū badhnūmi darduram* (singular). In b, the readings *kālam āsādy* and *kāryam āsādy* seem to be both corrupt; for we do not meet elsewhere with any instance of the words *kāla* and *kārya* being used with the root *āsāday*. The compound *kārya-sādhana-buddhimān* on the other hand seems to be unexceptionable; and the original form of the verse seems therefore to be that found in Du.

23. T 3. 121 (= PR. 3. 103 ; Du iv) reads as -

*ko 'haṃ kau deśa-kālau sama-viśama-guṇāḥ ke nayāḥ ke sabāyāḥ
kā śaktiḥ ko 'bhyupāyo hita-karṇa-viḍbhu ka ca me daiva-saṃpat ।
saṃpatteḥ ko 'nuhantāḥ pratibata-vacanasyottaraṃ kiṃ na me syād
ity evaṃ kārya-siddhau avahata-manaso nāvabāsyā bhavanti ॥*

¹ It must be noted however that the sentences *tad rājan yathā Mandaviṣeṇa maṇḍūkā nihatāḥ* (T, p. 141, Ab. 252;), *tad rājan yathā tena maṇḍūkā bhakṣitaḥ* (SP, p. 53, l. 1149), *rājan yathā Mandaviṣeṇa buddhibalena maṇḍūkā nihatāḥ* (Pn. p. 225) in T, SP, Pn lend support to their reading of the plural form *maṇḍūkāḥ* in d.

In a, SP, N, and Du have *dvīṣaḥ* instead of *nayāḥ*. In b, after *abhyupāyāḥ*, SP has *phalam api ca kiyat kīdṛṣī daiva°*, Du *katham api ca kiyat kīdṛṣī daiva°*, and N *kulam api ca kiyat kīdṛṣū daiva°*. In c, for *sampatteḥ*, SP, N, Du have *sampattau*, and for *kim na*, Du has *kim nu*, and SP, N *kim ca*. In d, instead of *avalata°*, SP, N have *avahita°*, and Du *vyavasita°*; instead of *nāvahāsyā bhavanti*, SP, N have *nāvasīdanti santāḥ*, and Du *nopahāsyam prayānti*.

This conspectus of readings shows that the original form of the first three pādas is :

*ko 'bhaṁ kau dṛṣṭa-kātau sama-viśama-guṇāḥ ke dvīṣaḥ ke sabāyāḥ
ka śaktiḥ ko 'bhyupāyāḥ phalam api ca kiyat kīdṛṣī daiva-sampat
sampattau ko 'nuhandbah pratibata-vacīnasyottaram kiṁ nu me syād*

The fourth pāda, probably read originally as *ity evaṁ kārya-siddhāv avahita-manaso nāpahāsyā bhavanti*.

24. T 3. 125 (= PR. 1. 3) reads as —

*tyāgini śūre viduṣi matimati ca guṇo guṇi-bhavati
guṇavati dhanam dhanac ebriḥ śrīmaty ājñā tato rājyam ||*

Pn reads *viduṣi ca* in a, *saṁsarga-rucir jano guṇi-bhavati* as b. The SP. Mss. read b differently as *svajanāḥ sadā vasaty eva*, *vastui janāḥ sugano guṇi-bhavati*, *vasati janāḥ sa jano guṇi-bhavati*, *vasati janāḥ sa ca jano guṇi bhavati*, etc. The last-mentioned reading is found in eight Mss. (with some imperfections) and may therefore be taken as the reading of SP. Pāda d reads as *tato jñānam tato rājyam* in some SP Mss. and as *tato vijayas tato rājyam* in some others.

This reading of pāda d is incongruous with what precedes it in c; for there is no connection between *śrīḥ* and *jñānam* or *vijayāḥ*; and it is therefore plain that this reading is corrupt, and that the reading of T-Pn, which is logical, is original. Similarly, T's reading of a, c too is original as shown by the agreement of SP.

Hertel emends pādas a, b and reads them as *tyāgini śūre vidyā viduṣi matimati ca guṇo guṇi-bhavati*. " With this emendation," contends Hertel (SP, p. XLIV et seq.), " we have in T: generous and

valiant person who is learned and sagacious; through sagacity, (the other) virtues first become such; through these virtues he gains wealth, through wealth, pomp and splendour, through pomp and splendour, authority, and through this, kingdom. This order, is more logical than that contained in SP's and Pn's readings of the verse, and shows that the above reading is original."

As pointed out by Edgerton, however, (PR. 2, 98), this emendation is a 'Schlimmbesserung' as it is in disaccord with the prose sentence *tat tyāga-buddhi-śaurya-sampannasya rājyam iti* that precedes it in T; and there is thus no doubt that it is not the original reading. The sequence of ideas in the SP reading¹ of the verse is: liberal, valiant and sagacious person; because of these qualities, people gather round him; through association with them, he becomes virtuous, that is, acquires all kinds of virtues; virtues lead to wealth, and wealth to splendour and glory; splendour and glory bring power, and power kingship. This sequence of ideas, it will be seen, is more logical than that contained in Hertel's reading of the verse.

There is however a defect in it: for it is not association with people generally, that is, with people indiscriminately, that makes one virtuous, but association with good, i. e., virtuous, people that does so. This idea is a commonplace one in Sanskrit literature; compare Pn. 1. 415: *labhate puruṣas tūṁs tām guṇa-doṣān sūdhū-asūdhū-samparkāt* and *ibid.* 1. 417: *saṁsargaṇā doṣa-guṇā bhavanti* and the story introduced by this verse; compare also the section on *sat-saṁgati-prasāṁsā* in *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍagūṇa*. If then one bears this in mind and also takes note of the fact that the words *sujanah* (*svajanah*²), *vasati*, *guṇī bhavati* occur in the various readings of pāda b contained in the different SP. Mss., the conclusion seems irresistible that the original read *vasati sujanah* in b instead of *vasati janah*. Probably, pāda b read in the original as

¹ In the SP reading of pāda b (*vasati janah sa ca jano guṇī bhavati*), the first *janah* refers to the people that gather round the liberal, valiant and sagacious person; the second *janah* however refers to this person himself.

² This is another form of *sujanah*; see my *Vedic Studies*, I. 41 ff.

vasati sujanah sa jano guni bhavati. The meaning of the verse with this reading is, "Good people gather round a person who is liberal, valiant, and sagacious; this person then becomes virtuous (through association with these good people); to the virtuous person comes wealth; wealth leads to splendour and glory, splendour and glory to power, and to kingship."

I consider then that the reading

*tyāgini sūre viduṣi vasati sujanah sa jano¹ guṇi bhavati |
guṇavati dhanam dhanāc chriḥ śrīmaty ājñā tato rājyam ||*

is original so far as pādas a, c, d are concerned, and that this reading of b is, if not original, at least very near to it.

25. T 4. 13 (= PR. 4. 15 ; Du 204) reads as —

*dharmaṁ arthaṁ ca kāmāṁ ca trīṇaṁ yo 'bhi-vāñchati |
so 'rikta-pāṇiḥ paśyeta brāhmaṇaṁ nṛpatiṁ striyam ||*

Pāda c is read by the SP Mss. as *na paśyed rikta-pāṇir gām, na gacched rikta-pāṇir gām, na paśyed rikta-pāṇis tu*, etc., and by Du as *rikta-pāṇir na gacchet tu*. Pāda d is read by Du as *gurum narapatiṁ striyam*, and by the SP Mss. as *brāhmaṇam nṛpatiṁ striyam, gurum bhūmipatiṁ striyam, brāhmaṇam dāvatam striyam* and *strī-nṛpa-brāhmaṇān bhuvī*.

The agreement of SP and Du shows that T's reading of pādas a, b is original. Regarding d, the reading *gurum*, it seems to me, is decidedly better than T's reading *brāhmaṇam*. For, the *guru* is the proper person to turn to, and not a Brāhmaṇa or Brāhmaṇas in general, when one wants to be advised with regard to *dharma*; and he may be said to be the dispenser of *dharma*, in the same way as a king is of *artha*, and women of *kāma*. And since Du's reading *gurum* is supported by a SP Ms. also, there seems to be no doubt that it is original.

¹ It would obviate all misunderstanding if, instead of *janah*, we had a word like *narah*. But the Mss. show no trace of such a reading.

In pāda c, too, similarly, Du's reading *na gacchet* is better than the readings *na paśyeta* and *na paśyet* of T and SP; for, both these versions refer to the act of *gamana* or going with a present held in the hand. Compare SP, p. 56, l. 1595: *tad gṛhītvā gamanam ucitam* | *uktaṁ ca* | *dharmam arthaṁ ca kāmam ca* ... T, p. 151, l. 20: *tad aham ahṛdayaḥ kiṁ talra gatvā karisyāmīti tathā ca* | *kṛtārthasya śobhanaṁ tvaj-jāyā-sakāśa-gamanam* | *uktaṁ ca* | *dharmam arthaṁ ca kāmam ca* This is the case in Du also where it is said, "For, is it not said: *dharmam arthaṁ ca kāmam ca* ... ? They say that one should not go (i. e., visit) even to ordinary relations with empty hands; and moreover, how is it possible to go to a sick woman without medicines?" The reading *na gacchet* is moreover found in a SP Ms. also; and this indicates that it is original. The original form of the verse is thus what is found in Du.¹

26. SP 3. 63 (= Pn. 3. 211 ; Du 127) reads as —

durmantriṇaṁ kam upayanti na nīti-doṣaḥ
śāntāpāyanti kam apathya-bhujam na rogāḥ |
kam śrīr na datpayati kam na nibhanti mṛtyuḥ
kam strī-gatā na viśayaḥ paritāpāyanti ||

The only difference in reading is found in pāda d where Pn has *svīkṛtāḥ* and Du *strī-kṛtāḥ* instead of *strī-gatāḥ*. These readings show that *strī-kṛtāḥ* is original, and that hence the original form of the verse is that contained in Du.

27. Pn 3. 35 (= Du. 196) reads as —

yad aśasaratī meṣaḥ kōraṇam tat prabartum
mṛga-pātir ati-kopāt saṁkucaty ulpatisṇuḥ |
hṛdaya-nibhita-vaira gudha-mantṛa-pracārāḥ
kim api viṣaṇayanto buddhimantaḥ sabante ||

Du has *api kopāt* instead of *ati-kopāt* in b, and *nītimantaḥ* instead of *buddhimantaḥ* in d. In Pn, the verse is preceded by the sentence *aparam kūrya-kōraṇūpekṣayā 'pasaraṇam kriyate iti nītiḥ* which shows that Du's reading *nītimantaḥ* is justified and original. Similarly, Du's reading *api kopāt* too in b seems clearly to

¹ The word *tu* too is found in c in two SP Mss.

be better than that of Pn. The original form of the verse is hence that found in Du.

28. Pn 3. 48 (= Du 167) reads as —

asahūyaḥ samartho 'pi tejasvī api karoti kim ṽ
nivāle patito vahnīḥ svayam evopāśmyati ॥

Du reads pādas bcd as *tejasvī kim karisyati nivāla-patito vahnīḥ svayam eva praśmyati*.

The reading *svayam eva praśmyati* in d is found in four Mss. of Pn, and there is thus no doubt that this is the original reading. In pādas bc, there is nothing to point out which is the original reading; but *nivāle patitaḥ* seems to be better than *nivāla-patitaḥ* and *api* seems to be unnecessary after *tejasvī* in b. The original form of the verse seems therefore to be :

asahūyaḥ samartho 'pi tejasvī kim karisyati ṽ
nivāle patito vahnīḥ svayam eva praśmyati ॥

SAMANTABHADRA'S DATE AND DR. PATHAK

BY

PANDIT JUGALKISHORE MUKHTAR

" In the course of my studies I have found that the time has now arrived for the revision of what one may call the ' canons of research. ' What is in my mind will be made clear by means of an example. It has been found that Vātsyāyana in his Nyāya-bhāṣya criticises the nihilistic doctrine. From this the learned scholars have deduced that this writer lived after Nāgārjuna whose work happens to be the oldest exponent of that doctrine that we can find at present. Is this a valid deduction ? Is it not possible that other writers might have dealt with the subject before Nāgārjuna ? Are not traces of the doctrine found in the teachings of the great Buddha himself ? At best the said inference could be regarded as mere presumption- and a very doubtful presumption at that. " —Mm. Dr. Ganganatha Jha. ¹

In his paper, ' On the Date of Samantabhadra ' contributed to the Annals of the B. O. R. I. (Vol. XI, ii, pp. 149-54) Dr. K. B. Pathak, B. A., Ph. D. has attempted to prove that Samantabhadra belonged to the first half of the eighth century A. C. The traditional view among the Jainas is that Samantabhadra flourished in the second century A. C., and this view has been upheld by some modern scholars also. When I read through Dr. Pathak's paper which was so kindly brought to my notice by my friend Pt. Nathuram Premi of Bomay, I found it to be a scrappy patchwork of mis-understood or rather half understood facts, and ultimately after a close scrutiny of his evidences I was convinced that his conclusion was not correct and reasonable. And hence with a view to clear the misunderstanding created by Dr. Pathak's paper and to place the facts in their proper light I am writing this article.

¹ See his Presidential Address at the Third All-India Oriental Conference Madras, 1924.

DR. PATHAK'S EVIDENCES

It is easy to fix the date of Samantabhadra if we carefully study his Yuktyānuśāsana and his Āptamīmāṃsā '— with this introductory remark he gives his evidences which might be serially summarised thus—

I--Samantabhadra, in the following verse of his Yuktyānuśāsana, attacks the well-known definition of perception given by Dharmakīrti in the Nyāyabindu. Samantabhadra's verse runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षनिर्देशवदप्यसिद्ध-
मकल्पकं ज्ञापयितुं ह्यशक्यम् ।
विना च सिद्धेर्न च लक्षणार्थो
न तावकद्वेषिणि वीर ! सत्यम् ॥ ३३ ॥’

II--In the Āptamīmāṃsā, verse 80, Samantabhadra says that Dharmakīrti contradicts himself when he says--

‘सद्विषयलभनियमादभेदो नीलतद्विषयोः’ ।

—प्रमाणविनिश्चय

III--In the Āptamīmāṃsā, verse 106, Samantabhadra attacks the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* of Dharmakīrti. For these three reasons it is clear that Samantabhadra comes after Dharmakīrti.

IV--Bhartrhari puts forth the doctrine of *śabdūdvaita* in this manner--

“ न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दादुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥
वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामिद्वबोधस्य शाश्वती ।
न प्रकाशः प्रकाशेत सः हि प्रत्ययमर्शिनी ॥ ”

This very doctrine of Bhartrhari has been severely criticised by the Śvetāmbara author Haribhadrasūri in his *Anekānta-jaya-patākā*, where he quotes Samantabhadra, whom he calls *vādi-mukhya*—

‘एतेन यदुक्तमाह च शब्दार्थवित्, वाग्रूपता चेदुत्क्रामेत् इत्यादि कारिकाद्वयं तदपि-
प्रत्युक्तम् । तुल्ययोगक्षेमत्वादिति आह च वादिमुख्यः—

बोधोऽयम् चेच्छब्दस्य न स्यादन्यत्र तच्छ्रुतिः ।

यद्वोद्धारं परित्यज्य न बोधोऽन्यत्र गच्छति ॥

न च स्यात्प्रत्ययो लोके यः श्रोत्रा न प्रतीयते ।
शब्दाभेदेन सत्येवं सर्वः स्यात्परञ्चित्तवत् ॥ इत्यादि । '

It is thus clear that the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita* is positively wrong in the opinion of Samantabhadra. Comparing Samantabhadra's words, ' *na ca syāt pratyayo loke* ' etc. with Bhartṛhari's words ' *na so'sti pratyayo loke* ' etc., it is found that Samantabhadra refutes Bhartṛhari's opinion as nearly as possible in the latter's own words. It was peculiar with mediaeval authors to quote as nearly as possible the very words of persons whose opinions they wished to refute. (Here Dr. Pathak adds some illustrations.) Therefore Samantabhadra is later than Bhartṛhari.

V--Lakṣmīdhara, the pupil of Samantabhadra, in his *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* says—

‘ अनेकान्तलक्ष्मीविलासावासाः सिद्धसेनार्याः असिद्धिं प्रति(त्य)पादयन् । षड्वर्षान-
रहस्यसंविदनसंपादितनिस्सीमपाण्डित्यमण्डिताः पूज्यपादस्वामिनस्तु विरोधं साधयन्ति
स्म । सकलतार्किकचक्रचूडामणिमरीचिमैत्रकेतचरणमदृशा भगवन्तः श्रीस्वामिसमन्त-
भद्राचार्या असिद्धिबिरोधावब्रुवन् । तदुक्तं ।

असिद्धं सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धं देवतान्दिनः ।
द्वयं समन्तभद्रस्य सर्वधैकान्तसाधनमिति ॥
नित्यायेकान्तहेतोर्बुधततिमाहितः सिद्धसेनो ह्यसिद्धं ।
ब्रूते श्रीदेवतन्दी विदितजिनमतः सन्विरोधं व्यनक्ति ॥ '

From this passage of *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* it is clear that Pūjya-pāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. And the sūtra,— चतुष्टयं 'समन्तभद्रस्य' V, 4, 168, found in the Jainendra-Vyākaraṇa of Pūjyapāda, where Samantabhadra's name is referred to, is an interpolation, since Jaina Śākatāyana who has copied many sūtras from Jainendra is content to use the word *vā* instead of mentioning Samantabhadra's name.

VI--In *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* Lakṣmīdhara quotes a verse of Bhaṭṭācārya thus—

वर्णात्मकाश्च ये शब्दाः नित्याः सर्वगतास्तथा ।
पृथक्पृथक्तया ते तु न गुणाः कस्यचिन्मताः ॥

—इति भट्टाचार्याः (यंबचनात्)

This Bhaṭṭācārya is Kumārila himself as it is clear from the following quotations—

‘तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यैर्मिमांसाश्लोकवार्तिके ।

यस्यानवयवः स्फोटो व्यज्यते वर्णबुद्धिभिः ।

सोऽपि पर्यनुयोगेन नेकेनापि विस्तृत्यते ॥ इति ’ ।

तदुक्तं भट्टाचार्यैः

प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते ।

जगच्च सृजतस्तस्य किं नाम न कृतं भवेत् ’ ॥ इति ।

— सर्वदर्शनसंग्रह

Since Lakṣmīdhara, the pupil of Samantabhadra, quotes Kumārila, it is not possible that Samantabhadra might have flourished long before Kumārila but both of them might have been contemporaries or Samantabhadra flourished a little earlier than Kumārila.

VII—In my paper entitled ‘The Position of Kumārila in Digambara Jaina Literature’ I have proved that Āpta-mīmāṃsā of Samantabhadra and its first commentary called Aṣṭaśaṭi of Akalaṅka are severely criticised by Kumārila and defended by Akalaṅka's two junior contemporaries, Vidyānanda Pātra-kesari and Prabhācandra. Akalaṅkadeva flourished during the reign of Rāṣṭrakūṭa King Sāhasatūṅga-dantidurga, and Prabhācandra lived on into the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, as he quotes Ātmānuśāsana of Guṇabhadra. The literary activities of Akalaṅka and his critic Kumārila must be placed in the latter half of the eighth century. And since Samantabhadra refutes the opinions of Dharmakīrti and Bhartṛhari and his pupil Lakṣmīdhara quotes Kumārila we are forced to assign Samantabhadra to the first half of the eighth century.

SCRUTINY OF DR. PATHAK'S EVIDENCES

None of the three evidences to show that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti is satisfactory.

(I) The conclusion deduced from the first evidence is not guaranteed by the quotation from Yuktyānuśāsana since in that verse of Samantabhadra neither the name of Dharmakīrti, nor that of his work Nyāyabindu is mentioned: nor is quoted there the definition of perception which, according to Dharmakīrti, runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोहमब्रान्तम्’ ।

If it is argued that the word *akalpaka*, used by Samantabhadra, is indicative of the words *nirvikalpaka* and *kalpanāpoḥa* and that it has been used with Dharmakīrti's definition of *pratyakṣa* in view, it is necessary to prove first that Dharmakīrti was the first author to qualify *pratyakṣa* with words like *akalpaka*, *nirvikalpaka* or *kalpanāpoḥa* and none else before him has used such adjectives. But it is not proved at all nor can it be. Diñnāga,¹ the great Buddhist logician that flourished during 345-415 A. C. and thus who is earlier than Dharmakīrti has composed many works on logic such as *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. He has used the word *kalpanāpoḥa* in his definition of perception which runs thus—

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोहम्’² ।

The Brāhmanic logician Udyotakara quotes this definition in his *Nyāya-vārtika* and severely criticises Diñnāga's view about perception. Dharmakīrti attacks Udyotakara and that Udyotakara flourished before Dharmakīrti is accepted by Dr. Pathak himself in his paper ‘Bhartrhari and Kumārila’.³ Further Dr. Pathak himself has pointed out⁴ that the following verse, quoted with the introductory remark *tathā cōktam* by Akalaṅka in *Rājavārtika*, belongs to Diñnāga —

प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोहं नामजात्यादियोजना ।
असाधारणहेतुत्वादक्षैस्तद्व्यपदिश्यते ॥

Thus it is clear that Dharmakīrti is not the only author to qualify the definition of *pratyakṣa* with the word *kalpanāpoḥa*. If Dharmakīrti were to be taken as the first author to set that adjective in vogue, then even Diñnāga will have to be put later than Dharmakīrti — that position is hardly acceptable to Dr. Pathak, nor is it historically justified since Dharmakīrti is the author of a *vārtika* on the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* of Diñnāga. In fact Dharma-

¹ Vide Introduction to *Tattvasaṃgraha* No. XXX, GOS.

² This sentence is found both in *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and *Nyāyapraveśa*, and Vācaspatiśīra in his *Nyāyavārtika-ṭīkā* quotes this definition as that of Diñnāga.

³ J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII, p. 229.

⁴ *Annals of B. O. R. I.* Vol. XI, p. 157.

kīrti¹ made further improvement in Logic after Dinnāga, as it has been eloquently declared by I-tsing who travelled in India during 671-695. He merely improved on Dinnāga's definition by adding the word *abhrānta*. But no such word as *abhrānta* or any prototype of it is used by Samantabhadra and hence it cannot be said that Samantabhadra had Dharmakīrti's definition of perception in view. Samantabhadra's attack on the definition of perception as *nirvikalpaka* can be extended to the view of Dharmakīrti only because he too was one of those who had adopted that definition. And it is just natural, in view of the popularity and fame of Dharmakīrti, that all authors who came after him had prominently before their mind's eye the definition of Dharmakīrti. So Vidyānanda, who has been wrongly identified with Pātrakesari by Dr. Pathak, quotes in his commentary² on that verse (viz. verse 33 of *Yuktyānuśāsana*, of Samantabhadra), as an example, the definition of Dharmakīrti—

‘कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तं प्रत्यक्षमिति लक्षणस्यार्थः प्रत्यक्षप्रत्यायनम्’ ।

This definition, being popular in Vidyānanda's time, required refutation at his hands. It could have been equally said by Vidyānanda that the definition of perception is —

‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढम्’ ।

Then there are many authors of later age who have used the word *nirvikalpaka* in their definition of perception, and Samantabhadra can be said, today, to have equally refuted their views. But we cannot say that Samantabhadra was later than all of them. Dr. Pathak's hypothesis that Dharmakīrti is the first to use the word *kalpanāpoḍha* is shown to be groundless and hence his conclusion that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti falls to the ground like a cabin of cards.

I wish to indicate here that even Dinnāga cannot be credited with originality of having defined perception as *nirvikalpaka* since, even Vasubandhu, (280-360 A. C.) who was an elder contemporary and teacher of Dinnāga, considers *samyag-jñāna-pratyakṣa* to be

¹ Vide, Dr. Vidyabhusana's *History of Indian Logic* p. 306.

² See *Yuktyānuśāsanam* with Vidyānanda's commentary published in *Manikohanda Jaina Grantha-mālā*. Vol. XV, p. 87.

nirvikalpa as it is clear from his treatises like *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* and *Trimśikā-Vijñapti-kārikā*.¹ To go a step further, there are evidences to show that *samyagjñāna* was qualified as *nirvikalpa* even before the time of Vasubandhu and the tradition of such a knowledge being both perceptual and inferential is accepted even by Dharmakīrti in his *Nyāyabindu* thus —

‘ द्विविधं सम्यग्ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमनुमानं च ’ ।

The following extract from *Lāṅkāvatāra sūtra* put in the mouth of Buddha will make clear our point —

‘ मयाऽन्येऽथ तथागतेरनुगम्य यथावद्वेशितं प्रज्ञप्तं चित्तमुत्तानीकृतं यत्रानुगम्य सम्यगवबोधानुच्छेदाशाश्वततो विकल्पस्याप्रवृत्तिः स्वप्रत्यात्मार्थज्ञानानुकूलं तथैकरूपक्ष-परपक्षश्चावकप्रत्येकबुद्धागतिलक्षणं तत्सम्यग्ज्ञानम् ’ । पृ. २२८.

When from early times Buddhists considered *samyagjñāna* to be free from *Vikalpa*, it is self-evident that its part *Pratyakṣa* is free from *Vikalpa* (*nirvikalpaka*). It is possible that Ārya Nāgārjuna in some of his works—possibly in his *Yukti-ṣaṣṭhikā-kārikā*² — might have qualified perception as *akalpaka* or *nirvikalpaka* and perhaps with that in view Samantabhadra might have put forth his attack. Nāgārjuna³ lived about 181 A. C., and Samantabhadra too is traditionally put in the second century A. C. There is a similarity in the names of their works (*Yuktyanubhāsana* and *Yuktiṣaṣṭhikā*), and even the number of verses is practically the same. If we are correct in our surmises given above, then Samantabhadra may be a contemporary of Nāgārjuna : some other cumulative evidences will be given later on. From the above discussion it is quite clear that Samantabhadra cannot be later than Dharmakīrti.

(II) The second evidence too is equally weak to lend any support to Dr. Pathak's conclusion. The verse No. 80 of *Āptamīmāṃsā* runs thus —

¹ Both these works have been published with Sr. commentary by Sylvain Le'vi, Paris; the commentary of the first appears to be *svopajñā* and that of the second is by Ācārya Sthiramati.

² This work of Nāgārjuna is mentioned by Dr. Satisechandra Vidyabhusan in his 'History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic,' P. 70.

³ Vide Introduction to *Tattvasamgraha*.

'साध्यसाधनविज्ञप्तेर्यदि विज्ञप्तिमात्रता ।
न साध्यं न च हेतुश्च प्रतिज्ञाहेतुदोषतः' ॥

Here is referred to neither the name of Dharmakīrti nor his sentence —

'सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदा नीलतद्विद्योः' ।

We fail to understand how Dr. Pathak says, 'Samantabhadra says that Dharmakīrti contradicts himself when he says —

'सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदा नीलतद्विद्योः' ।

It appears that Dr. Pathak found that statement *sahopalambha* etc. in *Aṣṭasahasrī* and other commentaries and as well in *Pramāṇa-viniścaya* of Dharmakīrti and was led to the groundless conjecture that Samantabhadra was referring to Dharmakīrti. We might give here the extract from *Aṣṭasahasrī* —

"प्रतिज्ञादोषस्तानःस्ववचनविरोधः साध्यसाधनविज्ञानस्य विज्ञप्तिमात्रमाभिलषतः प्रसज्यते । तथा हि । सहोपलम्भनियमादभेदा नीलतद्विद्योर्द्विचन्द्रदर्शनवादित्यत्रार्थसंविदो सहदर्शनस्येत्येकत्वैकान्तं साध्ययन् कथमवधेयाभिलाषः ? " । पृ. २४२

It is really a bold step to ascribe the view of the commentator to the original author! The original verse attacks Buddhists that hold the doctrine of *viññapti-mūlratā* and there were authors, both before as well as after Samantabhadra, who subscribed to this doctrine. And Samantabhadra's attack may be directed towards both by the commentators in later age and we often come across such phrases, *etena tādapi nirastam bhavati*, — *pratyuktam bhavati*, *etena yaduktam Bhaṭṭena tannirastam*. If Vidyānanda, commenting on a verse of Samantabhadra, criticises Dharmakīrti in his commentary, it would not be a valid inference to say that Dharmakīrti preceded Samantabhadra in age: it certainly means that Dharmakīrti was earlier than Vidyānanda. If the writers referred to and attacked in the commentaries were to be placed earlier than the original author, then there would be a chaos in history and chronology. The attacks in commentaries are not historically arranged but they are the outcome of doctrinal enthusiasm and therein they go on attacking all available views, early and contemporary, and some times even though there are no such indications in the original. If the view of commentators was historical they would have quoted and criticised only those

authors who preceded in age the writer on whose text they are commenting. It would be ridiculous to infer that Kant was earlier than Śaṅkarācārya if a modern annotator on Śaṅkara-bhāṣya quotes and criticises Kant when commenting on a particular view of Śaṅkara.

Moreover the doctrine of *Vijñaptimātratā* was current even before Dharmakīrti, and earlier authors like Vasubandhu, as we have remarked above, have composed treatises like *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi* and *Triṃśikā-vijñapti-kārikā*. It is the doctrine of Buddhists, especially of *Vijñānādvaita-vādināḥ* of the Yogācāra School, and as such it was current even before the time of Vasubandhu as it is clear from the following verse where he says that the proof of the doctrine of *Vijñapti-mātratā* is possible for Buddha only, and it is beyond his capacity to fully comprehend the same —

विज्ञप्तिमात्रतासिद्धिः स्वशक्तिसदृशी मया ।

कृतेयं सर्वथा सा तु न चिन्त्या बुद्धगोचरः ॥

Lankāvatāra is an old Buddhist work composed before Vasubandhu and referred to by Āryadeva who was an eminent disciple of Nāgārjuna.¹ In that work, among the 108 questions put to Buddha by Mahāmāti there is a question about *Vijñapti-mātratā* which runs thus —

‘विज्ञप्तिमात्रं च कथं ब्रूहि मे वदतांवर’ ॥ २-३७ ॥

And further in the third section of the same work we find a discussion about it thus —

‘यदा त्वालम्ब्यमर्थे नोपलभ्यते ज्ञानं तदा विज्ञप्तिमात्रव्यवस्थानं भवति विज्ञप्तेर्ग्राह्याभावाद् ग्राहकस्याप्यग्रहणं भवति । तदग्रहणात् प्रवर्तते ज्ञानं विकल्पसंशुद्धिर्तत् ।’

Thus this doctrine of Buddhists is very old and it is no wonder that even the statement *sahopalambha* etc. of Dharmakīrti might have been derived by him from some previous source. Therefore it is impossible that Samantabhadra can be placed later than Dharmakīrti from that particular verse of *Āptamīmāṃsā*. If Dharmakīrti is taken to be the original propounder of the doctrine of *Vijñapti-mātratā* then Vasubandhu and other authors would be

¹ See Indian Logic pp. 243 and 261.

later than Dharmakīrti — a position which is historically impossible and which even Dr. Pathak cannot willingly accept. Thus his second evidence is equally useless to prove that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti.

(III) The verse of Āptamīmāṃsā referred to by Dr. Pathak in his third evidence runs thus —

सधर्मणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्यादविरोधतः ।

स्याद्वादप्रविभक्तार्थविशेषव्यञ्जको नयः ॥ १०६ ॥

Here we find a definition of *naya* with no explicit reference to the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* viz. पक्षधर्मत्वं सपक्षे सत्त्वं विपक्षे चासत्त्वं of the Buddhists, nor is it attacked in any way. To translate the above verse : *Naya* is what suggests the particular feature of a matter coming within the scope of *Syādvāda*, such a suggestion being based on the similarity of attributes, of the thing intended to be proved, with another possessing similar attributes as also on the absence of any conflict. Pātrakesari became a convert to Jainism by hearing this Āpta-mīmāṃsā also known as *Devāgama-Stotra*; but the nature of inference as conceived by Jaina Logicians was not clear to him, was not explicit to him from *Devāgama-stotra* and also how it differed from the Buddhist view of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu*. This doubt of Pātrakesari became soon cleared when he got the following verse —

अन्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं ।

नान्यथानुपपन्नत्वं यत्र तत्र त्रयेण किं ॥

And it is with the help of this verse that he was able to criticise the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* of Buddhists. But Akalaṅka, a versatile commentator, who flourished later than Pātrakesari could read in the original verse of Samantabhadra an indication as to the futility of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* and his commentary on that verse runs thus —

‘ सपक्षेणैव साध्यस्य साधर्म्यादित्यनेन हेतोर्लक्षणादप्यमविरोधात् इत्यन्यथानुपपत्तिं च दर्शयता केवलस्य त्रिलक्षणस्यासाधनत्वमुक्तं तत्पुत्रत्वादिवत् । ’ — अष्टशती

Even if we suppose that Samantabhadra had in view the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* in the very manner in which Akalaṅka could expand it in his commentary, it is not proved that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti since Dharmakīrti is not the first author

to propound the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* as it is clear from works such as *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* and *Hetucakra-damaru* of Dinnāga: in the former work there is a chapter called *trirūpa-hetu*.¹ Nāgārjuna, in his *Pramāṇa-viśeṣa* is credited to have substituted the five-fold syllogism of Naiyāyikas by a threefold one:² from this it is clear that he accepted *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* in place of *pañca-lakṣaṇa-hetu*. Thus we can trace the origin of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* as far as Nāgārjuna.

Besides it is clear from the following two verses quoted by *Prāśastapāda* attributing their authorship to Kāśyapa that the *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* was current among the *Vaiśeṣikas* from a very long time³ --

यदनुमेयेन संबद्धं प्रसिद्धं च तदन्विते ।
तदभावे च नास्त्येव तद्विज्ञानमुपायकम् ॥
विपरीतमतो यस्यादेकेन द्वितयेन वा ।
विरुद्धासिद्धसंदिग्धमलिङ्गं काश्यपोऽब्रवीत् ॥

Therefore it is impossible that Samantabhadra can be later than Dharmakīrti as the source of *trilakṣaṇa-hetu* can be traced as far as Nāgārjuna and perhaps even earlier. So the third evidence is equally futile to support his conclusion.

In all the three evidences which are based on different passages from Samantabhadra's works nowhere there is explicit reference to Dharmakīrti or to his statements, nor is Dharmakīrti the first propounder of the various views which are said to have been criticised by Samantabhadra according to Dr. Pathak. Therefore all these evidences, as shown above, are not sufficient to prove that Samantabhadra is later than Dharmakīrti.

(IV) The fourth evidence too is not to the point. The validity of the statement, that Samantabhadra refutes Bhārtrhari's opinion as nearly as possible in the latter's own words, depends on two things, which are not proved at all by Dr. Pathak but simply taken for granted, viz. (i) that the two verses *bodhātma cecchadbasya* etc. really belong to the authorship of Samantabhadra and (ii) that

¹ See History of the Mediaeval School of Indian Logic, pp. 85-99.

² See *हिन्दुमतसंग्रह* by Narmada Shankar Mehta, p. 183.

³ Vide Introduction to *Nyāyapravāṇa*, p. 23, published in G. O. S.

none else before Bhartṛhari has propounded the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita*.

Dr. Pathak has not indicated from what work of Samantabhadra these two verses are taken. They are not found in any of the available works of Samantabhadra, nor are they mentioned in the works of Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda who are in the habit of closely following the verses of Samantabhadra. Vidyānanda's refutation of the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita* is based on the words of Akalaṅka, and not of Samantabhadra, as he says in the following passage from *Śloka-vārtika* --

“ सर्वथेकान्तानां तदसंभवं भगवत समन्तभद्राचार्यन्यायाद्वावायेकान्तानिराकरण-
प्रवणत्वादेव वक्ष्यमाणाच्च न्यायात्संक्षेपतः प्रवचनप्रामाण्यदाढ्यमवधार्य तत्र निश्चितं
नामात्मसात्कृत्य संप्रति श्रुतस्वरूपप्रतिपादकं अकलङ्कग्रन्थमनुवादपुरस्सरं विचार-
यति । पृ. २३९.

It is imaginable that Vidyānanda, a close student of Samantabhadra's works as he is, would have quoted these two verses in this context if they really belonged to Samantabhadra. That Samantabhadra is the author of these two verses is a doubtful point. The prose portion quoted along with these two verses appears to be a part of the so called *svopajñā-vṛtti* of Anekānta-jaya-patākā. The two verses are attributed to Vādimukhya and not explicitly to Samantabhadra. We do not know and Dr. Pathak also is silent whether there is any marginal note or anything like that, according to which Vādimukhya can be identified with Samantabhadra. So long these verses are not found in Samantabhadra's works and so long there is no definite evidence to identify Vādimukhya with Samantabhadra one cannot accept the authorship of these two verses attributed to Samantabhadra. There are many such cases of wrong identification in the history of Jaina Literature and a few instances might be quoted here. Rāmasena is the author of *Tattvānuśāsana* but in the edition of the *Manikechandra Jaina Granthamālā* its authorship is attributed to Nāgasena,¹ the teacher of Rāmasena, and this mistake is later on adopted by all. Similarly *Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa* is a commentary on the *Parīksā-mukha* of Māṇikyanandi and there must have been some Sk. gloss on *Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa*. The following verse of *Prameya-Kamala-Mārtanḍa* is

¹ See *Jaina Hitalehi* Vol. XIV. p. 313.

printed, without any distinction, in the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the above work; and naturally some scholars have attributed it to Mānikyanandi. The verse runs thus—

सिद्धं सर्वजनप्रबोधजननं सद्योऽकलङ्काभयं
विद्यानन्दसमन्तभद्रयुगतो नित्यं मनोनन्दनम् ।
निर्दोषं परमागमार्थविषयं प्रोक्तं प्रमालक्षणं
युक्त्या चेतसि चिन्तयन्तु सुधियः श्रीवर्धमानं जिनम् ॥

Some scholars, misled by this wrong attribution have supposed that Mānikyanandi mentions the name of Vidyānanda. Dr. Pathak also has remarked elsewhere that Mānikyanandi refers to Vidyānanda and this is due to this wrong attribution. Dr. Vidyabhushana, therefore, was led to remark thus, "Mr. Pathak says that Mānikyanandi has mentioned Vidyānanda but in the text of Parikṣā-Mukha-Sāstra itself I have not come across any such mention." ¹

The relegation of these two verses to the authorship of Samantabhadra is very doubtful and any conclusion based on that cannot be valid. Even if it is proved that these are Samantabhadra's verses, still to put Samantabhadra later than Bhartṛhari it is necessary to show that Bhartṛhari was the first promulgator of the doctrine of *Śabdādvaita*. But this is not guaranteed, since Pāṇini and other authors, many of whom have been quoted by Bhartṛhari, subscribed to the doctrine of *śabdādvaita*. Is it a valid supposition that the view *na so'sti pratyayo* etc. did not belong to any previous author? When two authors write on the same topic there is a possibility of verbal similarity; ² not to say of those

¹ History of Indian Logic, p. 188, footnote, 7.

² Here we would like to quote two passages from 'Malaviya commemoration volume' written by two different persons to show the possibility of verbal agreement when two people write on the same topic. G. N. Chakravarti Esq. writes - "when he entered the legal profession he, with his brilliant intellect and rare powers of eloquence, had the ball at his feet, and it does not need much insight to see that he might have easily climbed to the highest rung of the ladder if he had only chosen to give his whole attention and energy to the profession."

R. B. Sanval Das writes - "Had he concentrated his energy on his legal practice there is not the least doubt that he would have soon risen to the top of the ladder. It has been rightly said that he had the ball at his feet but he refused to kick it."

authors who had inherited their knowledge through traditional instruction where similarity in phraseology is more natural, as we find from the serial study of the works of Pūjyapāda, Akalaṅka and Vidyānanda, or Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti. We can quote illustrations some of which are noted by Dr. Pathak himself in another context.⁶ Dinnāga defined perception as 'कल्पनापोदम्', and *hetu* as 'ग्राह्यधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुः' while Dharmakīrti defined the same as 'कल्पनापोदमब्रान्तम्' and 'पक्षधर्मस्तदंशेन व्याप्तो हेतुः' respectively. It is not necessary to say how much these definitions agree. Similarly Bhartṛhari might have imitated some other authorities before him. It is very probable that he has followed an old verse which was slightly different in wording than the one found at present in his work and which appears to have been quoted in its earlier form by Prabhācandra in his --Mārtanda and by Vidyānanda in his Śloka-vārtika, and perhaps with that earlier version in view Haribhadra read his quotation, 'न च स्यात् प्रत्ययो लोके' etc. Prabhācandra quotes the following verse --

'न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिवाभाति सर्वं शब्दे प्रतिष्ठितम्' ॥

along with two others, with the introductory phrase *taduktam* at one place in his Mārtanda, and it appears that they have been bodily taken from a work where they occurred in this consecutive order. But they are not found in that very order in Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. The third verse--

'अनादिनिधनं शब्दब्रह्मतत्त्वं यदक्षरं' etc.

is found with a slight variation in wording as the first verse of first Kāṇḍa of Vākyapadīya and the remaining two verses (the first with the variations noted above) are numbered as 124 and 125. This also substantiates the conjecture that Bhartṛhari has taken these verses from some other source. Besides, Bhartṛhari himself says that his work is of a compilatory nature--

'न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गस्तानभ्यस्य स्वं च दर्शनं ।

प्रणीतो गुरुणाऽस्माकमयमागमसंग्रहः ॥ २-४८० ॥

He also implies that there was a bigger work before his time which fell into oblivion but a part of it was recovered by the sage Patañjali. The commentator Puṇyārāga remarks thus--

¹ *Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XI, p. 157 etc.*

‘एतेन संग्रहानुसारेण भगवता पतञ्जलिना संग्रहसंक्षेपभूतमेव प्रायशो भाष्यमुप-
निबद्धानित्युक्तं वेदितव्यम् ।’

and indicates that Patañjali's Mahā-bhāṣya is a summary of that old compilatory work that had fallen into oblivion. Bhartṛhari even goes to say, in the first Kāṇḍa of his work, that Grammar is always composed by eminent writers on the ground of old Smṛtis-

तस्मादकृतकं शास्त्रं स्मृतिं वा सनिबन्धनां ।

आभित्यारभ्यते शिष्टैः शब्दानामनुशासनम् ॥

Under such circumstances it is not at all impossible that the verse *na ca syāt pratyayo* etc. might have been drawn from some earlier source.

Suppose there is an author who flourished before Dharmakīrti: he had in view a statement of Dinnāga in the course of his attack - a statement which is similarly worded in the works of Dharmakīrti too. A later commentator who is unaware of that statement in the works of Dinnāga is likely to indicate that the original author is attacking the statement of Dharmakīrti with whose works he (i. e. the commentator) is more familiar. From this if the original author were to be placed later than Dharmakīrti, it would be a gross mistake and misrepresentation of chronological facts. Similarly if an earlier author than Bhartṛhari had attacked a statement whose prototype is found in Bhartṛhari's works also, we are not justified in dragging that old author later than Bhartṛhari.

Therefore in view of the facts discussed above we cannot be allowed historically and logically to place Samantabhadra later than Bhartṛhari.

(V) We fail to understand how it is clear from the passage quoted from Ekānta-khaṇḍana that Pūjyapāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. If the serial enumeration of fallacies (असिद्ध, विरुद्ध, etc.) attributed to Siddhasena, Devanandi and Samantabhadra was to be accepted as chronologically arranged, it would be a gross misrepresentation of the history of fallacies that are long in use in Naiyāyika literature. When the fallacies and their very names were current long before, the attribution of applying a particular fallacy to a particular author only shows that he was pre-eminent in applying that fallacy to refute certain middle

term (*hetu*) of the opponent. But that can never be a ground to arrange the authors chronologically. We can take, for instance, the following verse where some authors are mentioned with their typically special characteristics—

प्रमाणमकलङ्कस्य पुज्यपादस्य लक्षणं ।

धनंजयकवेः काव्यं रत्नप्रथमकण्टकम् ॥

Can we infer from this mere enumeration that Akalaṅka lived earlier than Pūjyapāda? Certainly not. Pūjyapāda flourished about 500 A.C. and Akalaṅka has used his Sarvārtha-siddhi in composing his own Rājavārtika. This enumerative order can hardly indicate their priority or posteriority in time. If Dr. Pathak infers from this order, then he will have to admit that Siddhasena flourished earlier than Pūjyapāda thus contradicting his own conclusion. Since, we find Siddhasena in his Nyāyāvatāra qualifies his definition of *pratyakṣa* with *a-bhrānta* and *grāhaka* (i. e. *nirṇāyaka*, *vyaśāyātma* and *sarikalpaka*) and thus he has in view the definition of Dharmakīrti who, so far as we know, is the father of the phrase *a-bhrānta*. The commentator on Nyāyāvatāra remarks --

“ तेन यत्ताथागतैः प्रत्यपादि ‘प्रत्यक्षं कल्पनापोढमभ्रान्तमिति’ तदपास्तं भवति । ”

According to the first evidence Dr. Pathak will have to admit that Siddhasena is later than Dharmakīrti and we do not know how Dr. Pathak would explain the contradiction to which he is led by saying that Siddhasena was earlier than Pūjyapāda who lived some two hundred years before Dharmakīrti.

Neither from the extract nor from the history of fallacies, nor from the order of enumeration of the authors can it be proved that Samantabhadra is later than Pūjyapāda. The only possible ground for such an inference remains – but it is not clear from Dr. Pathak's words¹— that since Lakṣmīdhara the pupil of Samantabhadra mentions the name of Pūjyapāda the former can be taken as later than Pūjyapāda or even both Samantabhadra and Pūjyapāda can be taken as contemporaries. But it must be remembered that this would be a valid inference only after it is definitely proved

¹ Dr. Pathak says: “ from the passages cited above from the Ekānta-Khaṇḍana, it is clear that Pūjyapāda lived prior to Samantabhadra. ”

that Lakṣmidhara is the direct disciple of Samantabhadra. The point is not clear from the extracts from Ekānta-Khaṇḍana given by Dr. Pathak in his article, and naturally I was led to inspect the Ms of Ekānta-khaṇḍana which, as Dr. Pathak tells us in a footnote, is preserved in a palm-leaf Ms. (in old Kanarese characters) belonging to Lakṣmīsena Maṭha, Kolhapur. I am very thankful to Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A., of the Rajaram College, Kolhapur, through whose kind and good offices I could get a true copy of that Ms. which is compared with the original by the professor personally.

I find it to be an incomplete Ms.; for some reason or the other it has not been complete, and hence there is no *prāśasti* etc. at the end of the work. Unfortunately the work is not divided into *sādhās* at the end of which, in the colophons, we could expect the author to mention his or his Guru's name etc. Nor any where we get an explicit reference to the author's being a *direct* disciple of Samantabhadra. I found from the Ms. that Dr. Pathak has not been cautious enough in giving the excerpts. Between the two verses quoted by Dr. Pathak with the introductory phrase *taduktam* or to be more explicit after the verse *asiddham* etc. there runs the following prose passage--

‘तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः नित्याद्यकान्तवादविषादप्रथमखण्डनरचना-
द्वयं लक्ष्मीधरो धीरः पुनरसिध्यादिषट्कमाह’— ।

After this the subject matter of the book begins. The second verse *nityādyekānta* etc. does not come just after *asiddha* etc. but it comes after the *maṅgalācaraṇa* i. e. *Jinadevaṃ* etc. The verse *nityādyekānta* etc. belongs to the author, and Dr. Pathak has committed a mistake in indicating it, along with the verse *asiddham* as *taduktam*. After the verse *nityādyekānta* etc. comes the following verse —

ती द्वौ ब्रूते वरेण्यः पटुतरधिषणः श्रीसमन्तादिभद्रः ।

तच्छिष्यो लक्ष्मणस्तु प्रथितनयपथो वक्तव्यसिध्यादिषट्कम् ॥

And then follows a prose passage of which only the conclud-

ing portion is quoted by Dr. Pathak as it is clear from the foot-note here. ¹

This is the condition of the work as we find it. The author's name is Lakṣmidhara or Lakṣmaṇa both being taken as synonyms. It appears that Dr. Pathak is led to believe that Lakṣmidhara is the direct disciple of Samantabhadra from the two phrases --

‘तच्छिष्यः and तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः’ !

But it is a plain mistake to consider Lakṣmidhara as the direct disciple of Samantabhadra as the above two phrases follow after mentioning the views of three authors belonging to different periods, and as such he should be taken as the *paramparā-siṣya* (i. e. *upadeśya*) of these three authors. That he is a traditional pupil is clear from the passage --

‘तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः’

which comes after a quotation ending with *iti*. The phrase तच्छिष्यः should be explained not as ‘तस्य समन्तभद्रस्य शिष्यः’ but as ‘तेषां सिद्धसेनादीनां शिष्यः’. And *ārādhanā* is possible in the case of a traditional pupil i. e. *paramparā-siṣya* by the study of their works. *Caranārādhanā* does not always mean the service of their physical

¹ To make the whole matter clear, we give below the opening portion of the Ms., so that the readers might see for themselves how the whole situation is misunderstood and misrepresented by Dr. Pathak.

जिनं देवं जगद्गुरुं दयाधर्मविपुलं ।

प्रणामि प्रणताशेषजनानन्दमन्त्रिणम् ॥

नित्याद्येकान्तहेतोरुर्ध्वगतमाहितः सिद्धसेनो ह्यसिद्धं ।

ब्रूते श्रीदेवनन्दी विदितजिनमतः सन्निवरोधं व्यनक्ति ॥

तौ द्वौ ब्रूते वरेण्यः पुनरधिपणः श्रीसमन्तादिभद्रः ।

तच्छिष्यो लक्ष्मणस्तु प्रथितनयपथो वक्तव्यसिद्ध्यादिषट्कुम् ॥

नित्याद्येकान्तसाधनानामङ्कुरादिकं सकर्तृकं कार्यत्वाद् यत्कार्यं तत्सकर्तृकं यथा घटः । कार्यं च इदं तस्मात्सकर्तृकमेवेत्यादीनामेकान्तलक्ष्मीविलासावासाः सिद्धसेनयाः असिद्धिं प्रत्यपावयन् । षड्वर्शनरहस्य-संवेदनसंपादितानिस्सीमपाण्डित्यमार्ण्डताः पूज्यपादस्वामिनस्तु विरोधं साधयन्ति स्म । सकलतात्त्विकचूडा-मणिमरीचिमेचकितचरणनखमयूखा भगवन्तः श्रीस्वामिसमन्तभद्राचार्या असिद्धिबिरोधावब्रूवन्-

ननुक्तं--

असिद्धं सिद्धसेनस्य विरुद्धं देवनाग्निः ।

द्वयं समन्तभद्रस्य सर्वथैकान्तसाधनमिति ॥

तदीयचरणाराधनाराधितसंवेदनविशेषः नित्याद्येकान्तवादविवादप्रथमध्वनक्षणेनप्रचण्डवचनरचनाद्वारेण लक्ष्मीधरो धीरः पुनरसिद्ध्यादिषट्कुम्हा- etc.

feet but *carana* = *pāda* = sentence = their works; therefore the phrase may be taken as the study of their works. There are many such illustrations where one author considers himself to be the disciple of another who flourished many centuries before him. This refers to *paramparā-śiṣyatva* and not direct discipleship. We quote below the concluding verse of Nitisāra where Indranandi calls himself a *śiṣya* of Kundaḥunda who flourished more than a thousand years before him --

—सः श्रीमानिन्द्रनन्दी जगति विजयतो भूरि भावानुभावी ।

देवज्ञः कुन्दकुन्दप्रभुपदविनयः स्वागमाचारचञ्चलुः ॥¹

Similarly the passage from *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* shows that he was a *paramparā-śiṣya* and not a direct disciple of Samantabhadra. Further the verse *asiddhaḥ* etc. is only a popular verse of an author who flourished long before Lakṣmaṇa who is merely voicing the popular view by quoting that verse wherein the opinions of three famous authors are mentioned. This famous verse is found in *Siddhivinīścaya-ṭīkā* and *Nyāya-vinīścaya-vivaraṇa* in the following form --

असिद्धः सिद्धमनस्य विरुद्धो देवनन्दिनः ।

द्वेषा समन्तभद्रस्य हेतुरेकान्तसाधने ॥

In the *Nyāya-vinīścaya-vivaraṇa* Vādirāja quotes it with the phrase *aduktam* and Anantavīrya, who is the pre-eminent commentator on the works of Akalaṅka and who is held in high respect by all the later commentators like Prabhācandra and Vādirāja, gives this verse in *Siddhivinīścaya-ṭīkā* twice: once in the fifth *prastāva* as --

‘यद्वक्ष्यसिद्धः सिद्धसेनस्य’

and again in the sixth *prastāva* where the complete verse is given and explained word by word. Thus it is clear that this verse comes from Akalaṅka's *Siddhivinīścaya*, sixth chapter known as *hetu-lakṣṇa-siddhi*. Therefore Lakṣmidhara is later than Akalaṅka. In fact he is later than Vidyānanda who has severely dealt with Kumārila's attack on the *Aṣṭaśatī* of Akalaṅka, in his *Śloka-vārtika* and other works, since in this *Ekānta-khaṇḍana* he quotes Vidyānanda thus --

¹ Manikachanda Granthamālā Vol. XIII, p. 69.

तथा चाकं विद्यानन्दस्वामिभिः—

' सति धर्मविशेषे हि तीर्थकृत्यसमाह्वये ।

त्रयाजिनेश्वरो मार्गं न ज्ञानादेव केवलम् ' ॥

This is the 15th verse of Vidyānanda's Āpta-parikṣā which is composed by him after the completion of his Tattvārtha-Śloka-vārtika and Astasahasrī.

Under these circumstances it is impossible to accept Lakṣmīdhara as the direct disciple of Samantabhadra; nor there is any other external evidence to that effect. Of the direct disciples of Samantabhadra we know two names only viz. Śivakoṭi and Śivāyana.¹ From the explicit reference to Vidyānanda it is plain that Lakṣmīdhara flourished many centuries after Samantabhadra. When Lakṣmīdhara is not the direct disciple of Samantabhadra, the conclusion, based on the reference to Pūjyapāda etc., that Samantabhadra is later than Pūjyapāda loses its value. It would be a sheer breach of historical judgement to make Lakṣmīdhara a direct disciple of Samantabhadra when he quotes Vidyānanda who flourished long after Samantabhadra.

I wish to indicate here that Pūjyapāda is considered to be later than Samantabhadra in the available Jaina Literature. Leaving aside the *paṭṭāvalis* i.e. the traditional lists of teachers, the epigraphic evidences too point to the same thing. In Śravaṇa Belgola Inscriptions, for instance No. 40 (64), same information about Samantabhadra is given; then the word *tataḥ* is used and then follows the information about Pūjyapāda beginning with the famous verse, *yo Devanandī* etc. In another inscription also No. 108 (258) Pūjyapāda is introduced with the phrase *tataḥ* after Samantabhadra. The use of *tataḥ* indicates that Pūjyapāda is later than Samantabhadra. Further Pūjyapāda, in his Sanskrit grammar, has the following sūtra mentioning the name of Samantabhadra —

चतुष्टय समन्तभद्रस्य । ५-४-१६८

In the face of this sūtra one cannot put Samantabhadra later than Pūjyapāda and when Dr. Pathak found it to be a difficulty

¹. See स्वामी समन्तभद्र (इतिहास) p. 95. by the present writer published by Jaina Grantha Ratnakara Karyalsaya, Hirabaga, Bombay, 4.

in the way of his conclusion he pronounced his judgement, without any substantial evidence, that the sūtra is an interpolation merely to escape through the difficulty. It is a mere conjecture of his, and his only support is that this sūtra is not present in the Śākatāyana Vyākaraṇa. Its presence in the Jainendra Vyākaraṇa and the absence of the same in the Śākatāyana-Vyākaraṇa where many sūtras have been taken from the former led him to treat this sūtra as spurious. But it is an illogical conclusion. 'Many' does not mean 'all', nor is there any compulsion on Śākatāyana to copy all the sūtras of Jainendra, nor would it be valid to say that every sūtra that has not been copied by Śākatāyana is spurious. We can quote a parallel instance. Pūjyapāda in his Jainendra Vyākaraṇa copies many sūtras from Pāṇini but he has not taken that sūtra of Pāṇini where one Śākatāyana is referred to. Does it mean then, that particular sūtra is an interpolation in Pāṇini's work? Certainly not. Neither from the sūtras given by Dr. Pathak nor from other sūtras can it be proved that Jaina Śākatāyana completely follows Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. In portions he is independent and sometimes follows other grammarians like Pāṇini. Dr. Pathak says that the sūtra- 'जराया ङसिन्त्यस्याचि' । १-२-३७. of Jaina Śākatāyana is entirely based on Pāṇini's sūtra 'जराया जरस्यन्तरस्याम' । ७-२-१०१. Further he goes to the extent of remarking, "The mention of Indra in one of the above sūtras of Jaina Śākatāyana has misled some scholars into the belief that Indra was a real grammarian." ¹ Under these circumstances we are not ready to accept the illogical conclusions of Dr. Pathak that all such sūtras are interpolations namely, those sūtras of Jainendra which have not been copied by Jaina Śākatāyana, those sūtras, though copied, in which the proper names have been replaced by *vā* and those sūtras of Śākatāyana mentioning some proper names but in whose place *vā* had been used in Jainendra Vyākaraṇa. To prove all these sūtras to be interpolations some stronger evidence was necessary, but it has not been produced by Dr. Pathak.

When it is not proved that Lakṣmīdhara was the disciple of Samantabhadra, and that from his enumeration, Pūjyapāda was

¹ This remark of Dr. Pathak is not in any way cogent, since we learn from such an old work as Laṅkāvatārasūtra that Indra was the author of a Śabda-śāstra— 'इन्द्रोऽपि महामते अनेकशास्त्रविद्वद्बुद्धिः स्वशब्दशास्त्रप्रणेता' — पृ. १७४.

prior to Samantabhadra, there is no necessity of suspecting the genuineness of that sūtra. The interpolatory character of that sūtra is merely a conjecture of Dr. Pathak to lend support to his biased interpretation of the passage from Ekānta-khaṇḍana, and to create a favourable atmosphere for his biased conclusion he calls all (?) those sūtras mentioning proper names as spurious. We do not know why he has not stamped the sūtra - 'कृद्विमुञ्जां यशोभद्रस्य' २-१-८८ as an interpolation.

(VI) The sixth evidence is hardly to the point. We have seen that Lakṣmidhara is not the direct disciple of Samantabhadra and that he quotes Vidyānanda who has criticised Kumārila. So by his reference to Kumārila we cannot arrive at the conclusion that Kumārila and Samantabhadra were contemporaries or Samantabhadra flourished a little earlier than Kumārila.

(VII) It is an evidence of a general character where Dr. Pathak indicates the periods of different authors. We have already shown that his evidences, to prove that Samantabhadra has attacked Dharmakīrti and Bhartṛhari and that he had a direct disciple in Lakṣmidhara, were too weak and worthless. We are not ready to accept that Pātrakesari and Vidyānanda were identical, that Prabhācandra and Vidyānanda were the junior contemporaries of Akalaṅka and that Akalaṅka flourished in the latter half of the eighth century, since all these conclusions belong to the category of 'unproven.' In the following discussion it would be made clear that Pātrakesari is not the other name of Vidyānanda, that he was different from Vidyānanda the author of *Tattvārtha-śloka-vārtika*, that Pātrakesari, Vidyānanda and Prabhācandra were neither the pupils nor the contemporaries of Akalaṅka, that Pātrakesari flourished even before Akalaṅka and that Akalaṅka belonged to the first half of the seventh century.

P. S. I feel very sorry to pen this post-script. Dr. Pathak is no more amongst us. His sad demise has undoubtedly created a gap in the rank of Orientalists. Though the time has come now to revise many of his conclusions, the spade-work in connection with Jaina literary chronology, which he could do in those days when the study of Jaina literature was in its infancy, was really of a pioneer character. He died before this paper could be published; if he had lived, I am sure, he would have certainly explained his position with regard to the Date of Samantabhadra in the light of my arguments and fresh facts in this paper,

THE ĀDIBHARATA AND THE NĀTYASARVASVA-DĪPIKĀ

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I

Quotations from the *Ādibharata* (ĀBh.) in addition to those from the *Bharata* in Rāghavabhatta's commentary on *Śakuntalā* naturally raised an expectation towards an addition to our knowledge of the early history of the text of the Nāṭyaśāstra (NŚ.) ascribed to Bharatamuni. In fact we imagined that the ĀBh. mentioned by Rāghavabhatta, (R.) was a version of the NŚ. earlier than the extant one which probably was identical with his *Bharata*. With this idea we started an examination of the quotations of R. in their relation to the NŚ. And the following result followed (see *Indian Historical Quarterly*. 1930 pp. 75f).

Out of 19 quotations from the ĀBh. (a) 12 were traceable in the NŚ, and (b) 3 had their parallels in it, while (c) 4 had no trace in it. And out of 9 quotations from the *Bharata* (a) 7 are traceable in the NŚ., while (b) 2 have their parallels in it.

In the above examination we depended too much on the Kāvya-mālā (K.) text and were under the impression that no more quotation from the ĀBh. will be traced in the NŚ. But after an independent study of the Chowkhambā (Ch.) text which was found to represent a different recension we discovered later on one more ĀBh. quotation¹ occurring in it. Besides this on a closer examination of R.'s commentary of the *Śakuntalā* we discovered in it 2 more quotations from the ĀBh. and 5 more from the *Bharata*. Both the ĀBh. quotations and 4 of the *Bharata* quotations were traceable in the NŚ.

Thus the previously found relation of the ĀBh. and the *Bharata* with the NŚ. stands altered as follows:

¹ This is No. 3 of the ĀBh. quotations shown previously as not traceable in the NŚ. see *I. H. Q.* 1930 p. 72. This and other quotations of R. discovered later are given in the Appendix.

- I. Out of 21 quotations from the ĀBh.
 - (a) 15 are traceable in the NS. and
 - (b) 3 have their parallels in it, while
 - (c) 3 have no trace there at all.
- II. Out of the 14 quotations from the *Bharata*
 - (a) 11 are traceable¹ in the NS. and
 - (b) 3 have their parallels in it.

The fact that out of 21 quotations from the ABh. as many as 15 are traceable in the NS. gives a great weight to the view of Dr. S. K. De who suggested that by ABh. *Raghāvabhaṭṭa* meant Bharata the reputed author of the NS. (see *Sanskrit Poetics*, Vol. I, 1923, p. 24). Quotations which are not traceable in the NS. as well as those which have their parallels in it can be explained by the generally accepted theory that this work has been very badly handed down and some omissions as well as emendations in it might have sometimes been made. The non-appearance of some of the quotations may as well be due to mistake on the part of R. as well as his successive generations of scribes. But Dr. De's reasons for indentifying the ABh. with Bharata are however as follows: 'The *bharata* in later times came to mean dramatic art, and works like *Nandibharata* and *Mataṅgabharata* etc. meant 'the dramatic art by authors like Nandi and Mataṅga' who were posterior to Bharata. It was in contradictions to these later *bharatas* that Bharata the so-called author of the NS. was called the *Ādibharata*.²

¹ One of such quotations was traceable only in the K. text of the NS. and the Ch. text gives the substance of it in a different language. Vide, I. H. Q. 1930 p. 80.

² In this matter we slightly differ from Dr. S. K. De, and like to suggest the semantic development of the word *bharata* in the following lines. Once *bharata* meant *naṭa*; and a treatise on his art was then called the *Bharataśāstra* (In the contents of Skandha I. of the *Nāṭyasarasvadīpikā* the expression 'Bharataśāstra' occurs twice). This 'Bharataśāstra' was however referred sometimes simply as *Bharata* (cf. *Ādibharataśāstre* and *ādibharate* mentioned indiscriminately in several colophons of the *Nāṭyasarasvadīpikā*; vide, Mr. D. R. Manikad on *Ādibharata* in Annals of the BORI, Vol. XIII pp. 174-175). In Nandikeśvara's *Abhinayadarpaṇa* too 'bharata' in the sense of *Bharataśāstra* occurs). And the 'bharata' denoting the *śāstra* as time passed on gave rise to a myth which wrongly imputed the early *śāstra* to a fictitious Bharatamuni. This has been discussed in full in my article in I. H. Q. (1930 pp. 72 ff.).

The argument on which Dr. De based his assumption is a very cogent one. That *bharṭa* once meant the dramatic art or rather a treatise on the same is pretty sure. For besides the name Nandi and Maṭaṅga *bharatas* we have come across the name of the *Bālarāmabharata* by Bālarāma Kulasekhara of Travancore. This is a work on the Bharataśāstra and treats music, *tūla* and *abhinaya* (vide, The Triennial Catalogue of Mss. in the Madras Govt. Oriental Library, Vol. III, p. 3801). But in spite of this there may arise the following difficulties in finally accepting Dr. De's suggestion.

(1) If the ĀBh. and *Bharata* were identical why should R. in his 21 citations have named the former and in 14 citations referred to the latter (*Bharata*) by which he surely meant the present day NŚ. ? Before explaining this, what appears to be a strange procedure on the part of R., we cannot by any means resist the possibility of the existence of the ĀBh. as an earlier version of NŚ. This possibility, we are afraid, has not been barred by the argument of Mr. P. K. Gode whose examination of the Mysore Ms. (of the so-called *Ābhharata*) throws otherwise an unexpected light on the problem of the ĀBh. (Annals BORI, Vol. XIII, p. 93). Apart from the question whether the ĀBh. as an *earlier recension of the NŚ*, actually existed or not the argument of Mr. Gode denying the possibility of the existence of the ĀBh. as a work on the dramatic art does not seem to be very convincing. Indeed he has examined one Ms. which proved to have been wrongly named. But it will be claiming too much on the basis of such a discovery that no separate work on, with this title ever existed. Even modern makers of Ms. catalogues are some times found to commit mistakes in giving titles of the Mss. For example, Mss. Nos. 3028 and 3090 of the India Office Library have been wrongly labelled as the *Abhinayadarpana* of Nandikeśvara, but in spite of of this mistake the work of this name exists.¹ We cannot say that some previous owner of the Mysore Ms. has not misnamed it in a similar fashion by putting down on it the name of a work already existing. Thus the wrong naming gives strong grounds

¹ For details see pages xviii-xix of the *Abhinayadarpana* edited by present writer (The work has been published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series).

of presumption in favour of the separate existence of a work named ĀBh.

In addition to the above difficulty we find in the paper on *Adibharata*¹ by Mr. D. R. Mankad the description of a fragmentary Ms. which in its colophon has the name ĀBh. mentioned more than once and contains moreover one of R.'s quotation from the ĀBh. not traceable in the NŚ.

These are the difficulties which we confront in accepting the view that by the ĀBh. Rāghavabhatta meant the NŚ. But on a careful consideration of two facts which due to their separate mention may be looked upon as rather unimportant, the difficulties may yet vanish (*vide ante*, footnotes 1 and 2).

The first of the facts referred to above is that one of R.'s ĀBh. quotations occurs *only* in the Ch. text of the NŚ. and the other is that one of his Bharata quotations is found in the K. text of the NŚ. while the Ch. text gives the substance of it in a different language. These two quotations should be studied in relation to all of R.'s similar quotations traceable in the NŚ. and their position in the latter. For the purpose of such a study any one version of the NŚ. may do and we shall use here Ch. text.

The following is a tabular view of R.'s quotations from the ĀBh. and the *Bharata* traceable in the Ch. text of the NŚ. Numerals within brackets indicate quotations from the *Bharata* while those without brackets indicate the ĀBh. quotations. Roman numerals indicate the chapters of the NŚ. and Arabic ones the *ślokas*.

I.	(57).
V.	(106-107, 107-111), 163-164.
VII.	79.
XVIII.	29-30, 34-35, (49).
XIX.	(11, 17, 19, 26, 26).
XX.	14, 16-17, 47.
XXI.	(3), 10, 11, 13, 24, 32, 41, 83, 106-107.

From the study of the above table we find that (1) all of R.'s quotations occurring in the chapter XIX. of the NŚ. are attributed

¹ I am glad to offer here my thanks to Mr. Mankad who has very kindly drawn my attention to his paper by sending me a reprint of the same.

to the *Bharata*; (2) Only one of R.'s quotations occurs in the chapter I and that from the *Bharata*, and (3) only one quotation occurs in the chapter VII and that is from the *ĀBh.*, and (4) R.'s nine quotations from the *ĀBh.* occur in the chapter XXI while one from the *Bharata* occurs as the third verse in the chapter, and (5) the quotations appearing in the Ch. XX, are all ascribed to the *ĀBh.* (6) Quotations in the name of *Bharata* as well as *ĀBh.* occur in chapters V, XVIII and XXI.

Now all these facts as well as the two quotations referred to above cannot be explained unless we are allowed to assume that R. used two fragmentary Mss. of the *NS.* belonging to two different recensions. As one of his quotations from the *ĀBh.* appears only in the Ch. text of the *NS.* representing the longer recension we may conclude that R. drew these quotations from a Ms. of the *NS.* belonging to the longer recension. This Ms., quite like the Mysore Ms. examined by Mr. Gode, was probably known to R. as the *Ādibharata*. As for the quotation from the *Bharata* which appears in identical language only in the K. text of the *NS.* we may believe that R.'s source of *Bharata* quotations was a Ms. of the *NS.* belonging to the shorter recension.

The difficulty about the colophons of the *Nāṭyaśāstradīpikā* now remains. We shall see below that this difficulty is not insuperable, and we may finally accept the suggestion of Dr. S. K. De as very sound.

Appendix to I.

N. B. Please read this together with the Appendix of the article dealing with the *ĀBh.* in *IHQ.* of 1930 (pp. 77ff.)

A.—R's Quotations from the *ĀBh.*

I.—Traceable in the *NS.*

(p. 114) ¹ कश्चिन्मिः काव्यकुशलेः रसभावमपेक्ष्य तु ।

सर्वाङ्गानि कदाचित्तु द्विविहीनानि वा पुनः ॥

व्युत्क्रमेणापि कार्याणि (XXI. 106-107)

(p. 168) नियतां तु फलप्राप्तिं यदा भावेन पश्यति ।

नियतां तां फलप्राप्तिं सद्युणः (?) परिचक्षते ॥ (XXI. 13)

¹ Pages cited before the quotations are those of the *Nirṇayasāgara* ed. of the *Śakuntalā* with R.'s commentary. The references to the *NS.* are from the Ch. ed.

B.—R.'s Quotations from the *Bharata*.

I.—Traceable in the NS.

(p. 16) आण्मन्त्रि वाच्यस्तु रथी सूतेन सर्वदा (XIX. 11)

(p. 21) राजन्निवृत्तिर्वाच्यः (XIX. 17)

(p. 25) नायिकानां सखीनां च सौमसेनी प्रकीर्तिताः (XVIII. 49)

(p. 229) देवानमपि ये देवा महात्माना महर्षयः ।

भगवन्निति ते वाच्या यास्तेषां योषितस्तथा ॥ (XXI. 3)

II.—Not traceable in the NS.

(p. 182) मागधी राक्षसादेः स्यात्

II.

The Ms. No. 41 (of 1916-18) of the Government Ms. library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was originally entered in the catalogue as the *Bharatāśāstra-granthah*.¹ But after a closer examination of the Ms. the name was corrected as the *Nāṭya-sarvasvādīpikā*. In an article named *Ādibharata* by Mr. D. R. Mankad there is among other things a discussion on the several colophons of its different sections where the expression *Ādibharata* occurs. Mr. Mankad thinks on the following grounds that folios 1-33 (nearly half the Ms.) contain the ĀBh.

(1) The word ĀBh. in the colophon.

(2) The running style of the NS. exhibited in these folios.

(3) The occurrence of the *sabhālakṣaṇa* mentioned by R. as having been taken from the ĀBh.

Mr. Mankad has himself admitted the weakness of the first ground, and the second one also is not strong. Thus only the third or seemingly strongest ground should be discussed.

Since the present writer in his '*Problems of the Nāṭyaśāstra*' (IHQ, 1930, pp. 72ff) pointed out that the *sabhālakṣaṇa* of the ĀBh. had a parallel in the NS., he has traced a substantial part of this passage occurring in almost the same language in the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* (VII. 1343-1344). For reasons to be given below he is now convinced that the passage in question might have been taken by R. from the *Saṃgīta-ratnākara* and might through mistake have been fathered on the ĀBh. The assumption of an oversight of

¹ I take this opportunity of expressing here my grateful thanks to my teacher Prof. S. K. Chatterji at whose kind intercession the authorities of the Calcutta University made this Ms. available for my use.

similar nature on the part of R. as we have seen before may solve the problem of several ĀBh. and *Bharata* quotations of the famous commentator. Thus we may think that folios 1-33 of the Ms. does not contain any work named the ĀBh.

This Ms., as Mr. Mankad has conjectured, contains fragments of different works. A portion of the chapter XXVI of the NS. (Ch. ed.) occurs in folios 46-50 and the so-called double copy of folios 12-14 probably represent the fragment of a different work on *tāla*. The name given in the margin of these folios as the *Nāṭyasarvasva* is clearly by a different and later hand and so are the page marks which suppress some original figures. But apart from the fragment of the NS. and the fragmentary work on *tāla* the Ms. contains a work named *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* or its fragments put together in absolute disregard of any order. Mr. Mankad is inclined to believe that this *Dīpikā* is a commentary of a work named *Nāṭyasarvasva*. But such a view seems to have been expressed on a very inadequate ground. The colophon of the table of contents of the work ends as follows : *asya granthasya nāma Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* and in its several other colophons at the end of different sections we do not at all meet with any statement that the work was named the *Nāṭyasarvasva*. We do not know any commentator who has been negligent enough to omit the name of his basic work in his colophons.

The style of the work (*Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*) has been considered as an indication of its being a commentary. With this we cannot agree. For such a style is often met with in works like the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* and the *Nāṭyadarpaṇa*. The name ending in 'dīpikā' does not necessarily make the work a commentarial one. This word, like *darpaṇa* in the name of the two above mentioned works, may mean nothing more than a 'manual'.

Thus we may take it as an original work (i. e. not a commentary) named the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā*. But the word *Adibharata* appearing in the colophon may be said to create a difficulty. On the strength of this one may take the work as the *Adibharata*, and we have observed before that it naturally raises an expectation about some old version of the NS. But on an examination of the Ms. we found this to be a very modern work

later than the *Samgitaranākara* (circa, 1230 A. C.) which is mentioned twice in it (f. 34 b line 7 and f. 36a line 4) and as such it cannot be any early version of the NŚ. Another and an equally great difficulty about its being taken as an early version of the NŚ. or any version at all of this work is that it treats (*vide* its contents in ff. 1-5) 32 *rāgas* while the NŚ. does not know any *rāga* at all. The division of the work in *skandhas* looks rather queer and may be taken along with the above facts as a sign of the novel origin of the work.

Now it may be asked if the work did not at all have the expected relationship with the NŚ. why should its author use the word 'Ādibharata' in his colophons. We are not in a position to know exactly the motive of the author but he may have dragged in the ĀBh. in the following manner. As we have seen before that in his colophon to the contents he expressly states that the name of the work is the *Nāṭyasarvasva-dīpikā*, but precedes this statement by *etatparyantam ādibharataśāstram*. This does not mean that the name of the work was the ĀBh. The subject discussed in the work is here mentioned. (It should be noted that the word 'ādī' occurring in the above statements is clearly by a different hand). But it is quite possible that the author of the *Nāṭyasarvasva* by using expressions like *ādibharate* and *ādibharataśāstre* merely claimed that his work is in the lines of the first Bharata though we have seen that in one way at least this claim is not quite valid. But some deviation from the old tradition at a later time is quite possible and in spite of this difference the *Nāṭyasarvasvadīpikā* may represent the other aspects of the traditions recorded in the early NŚ. But as the former Ms. of the work is extremely fragmentary we have no means of properly comparing it with the NŚ.

ETHICO-RELIGIOUS CLASSIFICATIONS OF MANKIND AS EMBODIED IN THE JAINA CANON

BY

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The problem of studying mankind is complicated ; so various methods have been adopted to solve it. One of them is that of scientific classification - an art well-known to India from hoary antiquity. Consequently it is no wonder, if the *Jainas* in ancient times possessed a remarkable mastery therein. As a corroborative evidence may be pointed out plenty of *bhaṅgas* or permutations and combinations one comes across, in the *Jaina* philosophy. The attitude of the *Jainas* in systematically grouping the different entities may very well account for the various sorts of classifications of human beings¹ expounded in the *Jaina* canonical literature. As the main object of this article is to throw some light on this subject, I shall begin with a classification having an ethical tinge about it.

Sādhu and Asādhu -

In *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. 13. v. 1 and 4²) humanity in its entirety is divided into two classes : (1) *sādhu* or the virtuous and (2) *asādhu* or the wicked, the natural divisions of mankind one can expect and approve of. Each of these can be further divided into two groups :- (a) happy and (b) unhappy. This means that we have four types of human beings on the surface of this globe : (i) virtuous and happy, (ii) virtuous but unhappy, (iii) wicked but happy and (iv) wicked and unhappy. The origin of these types is satisfactorily explained by the four kinds of *karmanas*, technically known as (1) *puṇyānubandhi - puṇya*³, (2) *puṇyā-*

¹ Even the minimum and maximum numbers of human beings existing at any time are pointed out in *Anuyogadvārasūtra* (sūtra 142). This topic is discussed by me in the paper communicated to the Jubilee Sessions of the Indian Mathematical Society held in December 1932.

² For the English translation of these two verses see S. B. E. vol. XLV, p. 320.

³ Merit-engendering merit. It is a kind of merit, which makes the individual lead a holy life, while he or she, at the same time, enjoys happiness as a result of the merit acquired in a previous birth or births.

nubandhi-pāpa, (3) *pāpānubandhi-punya* and (4) *pāpānubandhi-pāpa*.¹

Before proceeding further it will not be amiss to take a note of the fact that Jainism divides all the unliberated living beings into two classes: (1) those who are incompetent to attain liberation and (2) those who are competent to do so. The former class is designated as *abhavya*, and the latter as *bhavya*. The *bhavyas* are subdivided into two categories: (1) those who are sure to be liberated in near or distant future, and (2) the *jāti-bhavyas* or those who will never be liberated, since they will never get the right opportunity of utilizing their potency for achieving salvation.

Ārya and Mleccha--

If we refer to *Prajñāpanāsūtra*² (I, 37) of Śyāmācārya we find mankind divided into two classes viz. (a) *ārya* or the *Āryas*³ and (b) *mīlikkhu*⁴ or the *Mlecchas*.⁵ Vācakamukhya Umāsvāti, too, has mentioned these classes, in his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra*⁶ (III, 15) and has also indicated their various varieties, in the *svopajñā*⁷ *bhāṣya* (pp. 265-266). But he has not classified the *Āryas* under two heads viz. (a) *Ṛddhi-prāpta* and *Ṛddhi-aprāpta* or *Anṛddhi-prāpta*. These groups are however pointed out in *Prajñāpanāsūtra* (ch. I.) where the former group is further divided into six classes viz. (1) *Tīrthāṅkara*,

¹ This line of argument, if properly followed, solves the question viz. "why do the innocent suffer?"

² This is looked upon as the second *upāṅga* and is divided into 36 chapters known as *pādas* with their subdivisions styled as *sūtras*.

^{3, 5} These have been explained in the commentary as under by Malayagiri Sūri:—

“आराद् द्वेयधर्मभ्यो यानाः—प्रज्ञा उपद्विधर्मैस्त्विर्याः, प्रोदरादयः’ इति रूपनिष्पत्तिः, म्लेच्छा अव्यक्तभाषासमाचाराः, ‘म्लेच्छ अव्यक्तायां वाचि’ इति वचनात्, भाषाग्रहणं चोपलक्षणं, तेन शिष्टाऽसंमतसकलव्यवहारा म्लेच्छा इति प्रतिपन्नव्यम्।”

⁴ This word (*mīlikkhu*) occurs in *Sūtrākṛtāṅga* (I. I. 2. v. 15-16).

⁶ Out of a number of commentaries written on it (vide pp. 16-18 of my Sanskrit Introduction to pt. I), I shall point out a few where the word *Ārya* has been defined. They are: (1) *Sarvārthasiddhi* (Kolhapur, ed. p. 130), *Siddhasena Gaṇi's* *ṭīkā* (p. 265) and (3) *Tattvārthasāloka-vārtika* (p. 356).

⁷ I have expressed my reasons of considering the *bhāṣya* as *svopajñā*, in my introduction (pt. II, p. 36ff.). So it will be a matter of great pleasure, if any scholar will examine them and give his sober verdict.

(2) *Cakravartin*, (3) *Baladeva*, (4) *Vāsudeva*, (5) *Cāraṇa* and (6) *Vidyādharma*, and the latter into nine known as (a) *kṣetra-ārya*, (b) *jāti-ārya*, (c) *kula-ārya*, (d) *karma-ārya*, (e) *śilpa¹-ārya*, (f) *bhāṣā-ārya*, (g) *jñāna-ārya*, (h) *darśana-ārya* and (i) *cāritra-ārya*.² Umāsvāti has mentioned only six varieties³ of the *Āryas* in his *bhāṣya* (p. 265). They correspond to the first six classes of *Anṛddhi-prūpta Āryas*. Sarvārthasiddhi strikes altogether a different note, since it mentions 7 types of the *Ṛddhi-prūpta Āryas* and 5 types of the *Anṛddhi-prūpta Āryas*.⁴

In the case of the *Mlecchas*, the number of the varieties does not seem to be fixed; for, in *Prajñāpanāsūtra* (I, 37) we have about 55 types mentioned. These⁵ with some variations in their number and names are found in Nemicaṇḍra Sūri's *Pravacana-sāroddhāra* (274th dvāra, v. 1583-85)⁶.

Umāsvāti does not give such a list; but, after pointing out on p. 266 "अतो विपरीता म्लिः" mentions the 56⁷ antaradvipas, the residents of which come under the category of the *Mlecchas*.

As this topic is, I believe, sufficiently discussed, I shall now take up another which is more or less a special tenet of Jainism.

Mithyātva and Samyaktva

From the *Jaina* view-point human beings and other animate objects as well are either *mithyātva* or *samyaktva*, according as they have right or wrong conception about the characteristics of *deva*, *gur* and *dharma*. *Mithyātva* is of two types: (a) *anabhigṛhīta* and (b)

¹ In *Jambūdvīpaprajñapti*, we come across *sippasaya*. The names of the five main śilpas are given in *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* (v. 207). Each is there referred to as having 20 sub-divisions; but I have not succeeded up till now in tracing their names etc. The 18 śreṇis have been however discussed by me in my edition of *Padmananda Mahākāvya* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. LVIII, pp. 362, 592-593).

² For an explanation in English the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI, pp. 392-393.

³ These have been elucidated by him in the *bhāṣya* (p. 265).

⁴ "अनुद्धिप्राप्तार्याः पञ्चविधाः— क्षेत्रार्या जात्यार्याः कर्मर्याश्रितार्या दर्शनार्याश्चेति । अद्विप्राप्तार्याः सप्तविधाः, बुद्धि-विक्रिया-वयो-बलौ-वधि-रसा-ऽश्रीणिभेदात् ।"

⁵ For the Sanskrit names, the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI, pp. 393-394.

⁶ *Prasnavyakaraṇa* and *Āvaśyakasūtra* may be consulted in this connection; they, too, refer to the *anārya deśas*.

⁷ According to *Sarvārthasiddhi* (pp. 130-131) the number is 96.

abhigṛhīta. The former is due to ignorance, prejudice or prepossession, while the latter is mainly due to deliberate misunderstanding or perversion of facts. A student of Jainism needs hardly to be reminded of the 363 types¹ of the *Abhigṛhīta-mithyātva*s, the sum-total of 180 kinds of the *Kriyāvādins*, 84 of the *Akriyāvādins*, 67 of the *Ajñānavādins* and 32 of the *Vinayavādins*.² The names of the important persons connected with these schools are mentioned by Siddhasena in his commentary to *Tattvārtha* (VIII, 1). A rough attempt has been made by me to identify them,³ with a view that some erudite scholar may be inclined to take up this topic for a thorough investigation.

It may be remarked that *śamyaktva* and *abhigṛhīta-mithyātva*, too, are not within the reach of each and every human being. They are as it were the sole properties of the *Saṁjñis* or those whose mind is fairly developed. Thus the human beings known as *Asaṁjñis* and having practically no brain are under the influence of *anabhigṛhīta mithyātva*. They are the persons, who, in virtue of their manner of being born, are debarred from possessing *śamyaktva*. To elucidate this point, it may be mentioned that Jainism admits of three types of birth⁴ viz. (1) *sammūreccana*,⁵ (2) *garbha* and (3) *upapāda*. Out of them only the first two types are possible for the human beings.⁶ So they can be classified as (a) *garbhaja* and (b) *sammūreccanaja*. The latter are said to be born in 14 dirty things such as excreta, urine etc., and their life-span never exceeds 48 minutes.

It may be observed that in the case of a human being, it is the *gotra-karma* which determines the family where one can be born.

¹ These have been discussed at some length in "Schools and sects in Jaina literature" (pp. 29-37) by Amulyachandra Sen M. A., B. L.

² For sources of information see my introduction to *Tattvārthādhigama-sūtra* (pt. II, p. 54).

³ Ibid. pp. 55-63.

⁴ Birth as well as its varieties have been beautifully explained in Sanskrit by Siddhasena Gaṇi. See pt. I, pp. 189-190. This subject has been briefly treated in English in G. O. S. (No. LI, p. 21).

⁵ This is translated as "generatioquivoca" in S. B. E. (vol. XLV, p. 224).

⁶ See *Uttarādhyaṇasūtra* (ch. xxxvi, v. 194).

This *karman* is of two kinds : (a) high and (b) low.¹ On this basis, human beings are divided in Jainism into two classes : (i) born in a high family and (ii) born in a low family.

In this connection it may be stated that the *Jainas* consider the *Kṣatriyas* as the best class of men ; for, they assign to them even a higher place than what is generally assigned to the *Brāhmaṇas*. This will be clear, if one were to refer to *Kalpasūtra* where several *ucca* and *nīca kulas* are mentioned.²

From this it can be safely inferred that Jainism draws a line of demarcation between the high and the low families. But, thereby it does not permit a person born in a high family to be puffed up with pride and despise those born in a low family. For, such an attitude is deprecated in unequivocal terms in the *Jama Āgamas*, e. g. in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. 13; 10, 11, 15, 16). As an illustration, it will suffice to refer to the incident in the life of the *Marīci*, who, by praising his family to the skies, amalgamated the *nīcagotra-karman*.³

Jaina saints and low families :—

It may be added *en passant* that a *Jaina* saint is not debarred from accepting alms even from a low family. This is borne out by *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* (xii, 15) and *Daśavaikālikasūtra* (V. i. 14; V. 2. 25; VIII. 23). As an additional proof it may be stated that in the 16th *adhyāyana* of *Jñātādharma-kathāṅga*, *Dharmaruci*, pupil of *Dharmaghosa*, is referred to as going to all families high, low and middle, for alms. In *Upāsakadaśāṅga*, the 7th *aṅga*, we find a similar fact noted in the case of *Indrabhūti Gautama*, the first disciple of Lord *Mahāvira*. This will show that Jainism lays stress upon the purity of alms and not upon the status of an individual from whom alms is to be accepted.

¹ See *Uttarādhyāyanasūtra* (xxiii, 14). There each of these types of *gotra-karman* is pointed out as having eight varieties. *Bhāvajaya* observes in his commentary to this work that these are due to the causes of bondage connected with pride pertaining to *jāti*, *kula* etc. See the *bhāṣya* of *Tattvārtha* (ix, 6).

² For the English translation see S. B. E. (vol. xxii, p. 225).

³ For details see *Triṣaṣṭīśālākāpuruṣacaritra* (I. 5. v. 370ff) or G. O. S. (No. LI, pp. 352-353).

Furthermore, that a birth in a low family is not by itself a stumbling block for spiritual evolution is a clear verdict of Jainism, a fact on which the 12th and the 13th adhyayanas of Uttarādhyayanasūtra throw flood of light. For, therein we distinctly notice the spiritual rise of Harikeśa-bala and Caitra, in spite of their birth in a family of Śvapākas (Cāṇḍāla). Even an *Antyaja* is fully respected in Jainism, if adorned with a *vidyā* (lore). This will be clear by studying the narrative of king *Śreṇika* who made an *Antyaja* sit on his royal throne,¹ while learning the *vidyā* from him.

From this it can be easily deduced that Jainism cares more for the merits of an individual than his or her birth in a high-class family.

No place for varṇāśrama in Jainism—

Out of the four *varṇas* popularly known as (1) Brāhmaṇa, (2) Kṣatriya, (3) Vaiśya and (4) Śūdra, we find in the earlier portion of the Rgveda the first three under the appellations *Brahma*, *Kṣatra* and *Viś*. It is rather in the subsequent *puruṣa-sūkta* where *Śūdra* is mentioned along with *Brāhmaṇa*, *Rājanya* and *Vaiśya*. In Sūtrakṛtāṅga (II. 6. 48) we come across the words *Mūhana*, *Khattiya*, *Vesa* and *Pesa*.

This, by no means, implies that Jainism sanctions the water-tight compartments generally accepted by the so-called *Sanūtanists*. This is clearly borne out in the following verse of Uttarādhyayanasūtra (XXV) :—

“कम्मुणा बंभणो होइ कम्मुणा होइ खत्तिओ ।
बइसो कम्मुणा होइ खुहो इबइ कम्मुणा ॥ ३२ ॥”

¹ This will suggest that there is no room for untouchability in Jainism. This fact is beautifully stated by Malayagiri Sūri, while commenting upon Nandisūtra (p. 172) as under :—

“यद्यपि चोक्तं ‘चाण्डालस्पर्शदीपः प्राप्नोतीति, तदपि चेतनाधिकलघुरुपमाधितमिवाप्तमीचीनं, स्पर्शास्पर्शव्यवस्थायां लोके काल्पनिकत्वात् । तथाहि स्पर्शव्यवस्था न पारमार्थिकी ।”

He has practically expressed the same opinion in his commentary (p. 28) to *Āvaśyakasūtra*. In this connection it may be noted that the *jāti-jungitas* such as *Mātāṅga*, *Kokila*, *Baruda*, *Sūcika*, and *Chimpa* and others are considered as *aspr̥śya* by Siddhasena Sūri in his commentary (p. 230) to *Pravacanasaroddhāra* (v. 791.) The author of *Nisīthacūṇṇī*, too, seems to hold the same opinion.

In this very canon (XXV, 19-29, 31-32.) we find the word *Māhana* used in the sense of *Bambhana*. From the characteristics of *Māhana* mentioned there,¹ we learn that a person is so called, in case he leads a very very high standard of life.² Even Lord Mahāvīra is himself so addressed in *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* (I. ii. 1), since *Māhana* is considered as an honorific title. Cf. *Vajrasūcikopaniṣad*.

Thus it will be seen that Jainism does not endorse the view taken by the so-called *Sanūtanists* regarding the four *varṇas*; consequently it does not reserve the highest stage³ of life viz. *saṁnyāsa* (*dikṣā*) for a special class like that of the *Brāhmaṇas*; but it considers persons of backward and even depressed classes eligible for it, thus keeping the entrance to final emancipation open for any and every *mumukṣu*⁴ of any class whatsoever.

There is however a restriction regarding some of the human beings; for, 18 types of them are considered unfit for *dikṣā*. See *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (v. 790-791).

Six types of human beings:—

According to Jainism all mundane living beings can be classified under four heads: (1) human beings, (2) the celestial

¹ See also ch. xii, v. 14.

² In *Kalpasūtra*, we notice the word *Māhana*, used rather in a deteriorated sense; for, there, it implies a family unfit to be blessed with the birth of a *Tīrthaṅkara*, a *Cakravartin*, a *Baladeva* or a *Vāsudeva*. From this it may be inferred that by the time of Bhadrabāhusvāmin, the *Māhanas* had lost their original position and reputation, probably because they had given up the high ideals. Perhaps this is the reason why the word *Dhijjāta*, an *apabhraṣṭa* form of *Dvijātika*, according to P. Dechardas is explained as *Dhig-jātīya*, in the commentary to *Āvaśyakasūtra*.

³ Vidyāraṇya observes in *Jīvanmuktiviveka* (ch. V) :—

“शुद्धस्यापि संन्यासेऽधिकारः, वैराग्यस्याविशेषत्वात्।”

⁴ In Jainism, there is no hard and fast rule that an aspirant for liberation should successively pass through all the four stages of life, viz. (1) *brahmacharya*, (2) *gṛhasthya*, (3) *vānaprastha* and (4) *saṁnyāsa*. For, the *Jainas* are chiefly divided into two orders: (1) the *Agṛins* (house-holders) or practically *deśavirata* and (2) the *Anagāra* (those who have renounced the world) or *sarvavirata*. See *Tattvārtha* (VII, 14) and *Aupapādikāsūtra* (s. 57 p. 55). Nevertheless, we can divide even the life of a *Jaina* into four stages, if we were to look upon the stage of a *Jaina* house-holder practising *padīmā* or a *Siddhaputra* as *vānaprastha*,

(*devas*), (3) the hellish (*nārakas*) and (4) the *tiryacs*.¹ It may be noted that it is only the birth as a human being, which, when properly utilized leads to liberation. Thus, though the acquisition of birth as a human being is an essential preliminary to the attainment of final emancipation, yet it alone is not a sufficient means to reach the final goal. So it is only those persons who actually fully adopt the right means of achieving salvation become entirely free from the worldly fetters and from the engagement of body. Hence, from the point of view of the life spent mankind can be variously classified. On this basis Umāsvāti has suggested six broad classes viz. (1) *adhamūdhama*, (2) *adhama*, (3) *vimadhyama*, (4) *madhyama*, (5) *uttama* and (6) *uttamottama*.

These classifications are due to the four types of *karmans* viz. (1) *akuṣālānubandha* or *ahīta*, (2) *kuṣālākuṣālānubandha* or *hīlāhīla*, (3) *kuṣālānubandha* or *hīta* and (4) *niranubandha*. The first three sorts of human beings perform the first kind of *karma*: and the rest, the remaining ones in order. This subject is treated by Umāsvāti in his *Sambandhakārikas* (v. 4-6) to *Tattvārtha*, and they are elucidated by Siddhasena Gani in his splendid commentary (pp. 6-8) to this excellent work. To put it in a 'nut-shell, one who commits an atrocious deed and hence ruins his present life and the future one, too, is *adhamūdhama*. One who cares for the present life and is completely indifferent to the future is *adhama*. One who spends his time in realizing sensual happiness for this life and hereafter is *vimadhyama*. One who cares for future life only is *madhyama*. One who leads a virtuous life with the unadulterated motive of attaining final beatitude is *uttama*. One who after having cultivated the highest and purest type of religious mentality and having translated it into action delivers noble and ennobling sermons, though *kṛta-kṛtya*, is *uttamottama*.

Six Categories for mundane living beings—

Jainism divides all the mundane living beings according to

¹ Under this head are included all those mundane living beings that do not come under any one of the first three heads. To express the idea positively *beasts, birds, the vegetable and the mineral kingdom etc.* go by the name of *tiryac*.

their *leśyā*¹ or so to say their mentality. In all, there are six *leśyas* and hence all the animate objects in general and human beings² in special, give rise to six categories.

Fourteen Groups—

According to the Jaina philosophy the ladder leading to liberation consists of 14 steps known as *guṇasthānas*.³ A living being may be at either of these steps according to the extent of his or her or its spiritual evolution. The human beings are in no way, an exception, to this rule. This will suggest that there are 14 groups under which mankind can be classified.

One who is conversant with this branch of the *Jaina* philosophy will easily see that broadly speaking, human beings can be divided into two classes, too. For, all those who are at any one of the first three *guṇasthānas* are 'non-Jainas' and the rest, Jainas. It is only on reaching the fourth step that one ceases to be a non-Jaina and becomes a Jaina⁴. The arrival at the 5th step is no doubt a step nearer to salvation; but the real spiritual progress commences after reaching the sixth step. This as well as the remaining 8 steps are within the reach of saintly characters only.⁵

¹ I intend to write an article in English in this connection chiefly based upon my work *Ārhatadarśanadīpikā*, where this subject is treated in Gujarātī on pp. 350-363. In the meanwhile, I may point out some of the Prakrit, Sanskrit and English sources dealing with it as under :—

Uttarādhyaṇasūtra (xxxiv) and its English translation by H. Jacobi along with a foot-note on p. 196 (S. B. E. vol. xlv), Prajñāpanāsūtra (xvii), Lokaprakāśa (III. v. 92-97), Gommatasāra (v. 488-555), Outlines of Jainism (pp. 45-47), etc.

² Of course those who are *ayogikavalins* have no *leśyā* whatsoever. They are the holy persons on the point of attaining *mukṭi* and bidding a good-bye to *samsāra* or metempsychosis.

³ For the discussion of this subject in English, the reader is referred to G. O. S. No. LI (pp. 429-439).

⁴ Before one can attain the status of a Jaina, he or she should have 35 *mārgānusāri-guṇas* or the qualities leading to the path of Jainism.

⁵ The mere *veśa* of a Jaina saint counts for nothing. Such an individual is denounced as a hypocrite. It may be added that the absence of any external Jaina characteristics is not necessarily a disqualification for the attainment of salvation, in case that individual is really imbued with the true spirit of saintliness.

That is to say, Jaina lay-men are on the 4th or the 5th step and saints, on any step beginning with the sixth and ending with the 14th.

It is also possible to form two groups of human beings viz. (1) the *chadmastha* and the *vīlarūga*, in case these two words are interpreted etymologically.

Classifications according to varieties in structure, stature etc.

The mundane beings or the unliberated possess one of six kinds of *saṁhanana*¹ or osseous structure. On this basis human beings can be divided into six groups.

Saṁsthāna or the figure of the body can be considered as another basis to divide mankind into six groups, since there are six types of *saṁsthāna*.²

Jambūdvīpa, the eastern and western halves of Dhātakīdvīpa, and those of Puṣkarārdhadvīpa as well, together with the antardvīpas are the six places where a human being can be born. So, from this stand-point, too, mankind forms six different groups.

According to Jainism, in Bharata and Airāvata *kṣetras* the twelve-spoked wheel of time is the basis of the law of time. In other words time is divided into *avasarpinī* and *utsarpinī*, each of which has six spokes. From this view-point, too, human beings can be divided into six kinds according as they are affected by the type of the spoke, out of six.

All human beings have not necessarily the same sort of *karman*s. Hence this may also serve as a basis of grouping them. But this is not the place to do so. Consequently only the four types of human beings are here referred to : (1) *puruṣavedin*, (2) *strīvedin*, (3) *napuṁsakavedin* and (4) *avedin*. Here *veda* signifies carnal desire.

Some groups⁵ of humanity:--

In the 15th adhyāyana of Jñātādharma-kathāṅga, we come across certain classes of human beings e. g. Caraka, Cīrika, Car-makhaṇḍika, Bhicchunda, Paṇḍuraṅga, Gautama,³ Govratin,⁴

¹ The English explanation of these two technical words is given in G. O. S. No. I.I (pp. 405-406), and in "Outlines of Jainism" (p. 34); but it seems to be rather inconsistent, at least from the Śvetāmbara point of view.

² These two types of human beings are described at some length in Aupapātikasūtra and its Sanskrit commentary.

⁵ From the standpoint of the type of the *yoni* (nucleus) human beings are divided into 14 lacs of groups.

Gṛhidharmin, Dharmacintaka, Aviruddha, Viruddha, Vṛddha, Śrāvaka, Vṛddha Śrāvaka and Raktapaṭa.

Now a few words about the various classifications of the Jainas only. As already observed they can be divided into two classes viz. (1) the *upāsakas* and (2) the *śramanas*, each of whom has two subdivisions, if we were to distinguish females from males. These four varieties well-known as (1) the *śrāvaka* (2) the *śrāvika*, (3) the *sādhu* and (4) the *sādhari* make up a *tirtha* established by a *Tīrthanāka*. This *tirtha* is also known as *saṅgha* or the Jain church, and even each of its four branches goes by the same name (*saṅgha*).

The *Śramanas* can be divided into four groups: (1) the *Tīrthanāka*, (2) the *Ācārya*, (3) the *Upādhyāya* and (4) the *Sādhu*. Moreover, the *Śramanas* can be classified as (1) *Paṭāka*, (2) *Bakuṣa*, (3) *Kuṣīla*,¹ (4) *Nirgrantha* and (5) *Snātaka*.²

The *Śramanas* can be also divided according to the *gaccha* or its sub-section they belong to. It may be remarked that it is generally the difference in rituals which distinguishes one *gaccha* from another. So, to lay undue stress upon such differences will be tantamount to disfiguring the magnificent edifice of liberalism in Jainism.

The Jainas can be also divided according to the type of their *nirjarā* or the act of shedding off of *karmans*. This basis leads us to form 10 groups,³ indicated in *Tattvārtha* (ix, 47).

The 63 Śālākā-puruṣas, 11 Rudras, 9 Nāradas, 7 Kulkaras and others are some of the special groups referred to, in Jainism. They have nothing to do with castes and sub-castes amongst which the Jain community is at present divided; for, the origin of these castes etc., is not religious but probably it is a matter of convenience of the Jain society. It may be added that these castes are not a barrier for taking part in a common-dinner like *Navakārśi*, having a religious tint of *sādharmika vātsalya*. Even

¹ For the five types of this group see the bhāṣya (p. 208) of *Tattvārtha* (ix, 6).

² In this connection the reader may consult *Tattvārtha* (ix, 48), its bhāṣya and its commentary by Siddhasena Gapi. Even *Bhagavatisūtra* (xxv, 6) may be referred to.

³ From the stand point of *vaiyākṛtya* (service), too, we have 10 groups. For details see *Tattvārtha* (ix, 24) and its elucidative literature.

the question of inter-marriage amongst the Jainas does not depend upon castes ; for, Yākinīmahattarāsūnu Haribhadra Sūri observes in Dharmabindu as under :—

“समानकुलशीलदिभिरगोत्रजैववाहान्, अन्यत्र बहुविरुद्धेभ्य इति”

Four types of Jain Saints:—

In the seventh adhyayana of Jñātādharmakathāṅga, the 6th *aṅga*, we come across four varieties of *Jaina* saints: (1) those who discard the five holy vows (*mahāvratas*) after they have taken the same, (2) those who observe the five *mahāvratas* only for the sake of livelihood and who remain unduly attached to food etc., which they get from laymen in virtue of their outward get-up of a saint, (3) those who observe the five *mahāvratas* as enjoined by the scriptures after they have renounced the world and (4) those who not only observe the vows only in spirit but even continue practising them very rigidly.

The eleventh chapter of this 6th *aṅga*, too, furnishes us with another sort of the four types of *Jaina* saints. It is the presence or absence of forbearance in part or in toto, which gives rise to these four types. To express it explicitly, there are some saints who do not lose their temper, when offended by their correlative but do so, in case they come in contact with the heterodox. There are some saints whose conduct is just the reverse of this. There is another class of saints who get provoked, no matter whether the individual concerned is a Jaina or a non-Jaina. There is still another class of saints, who, under no circumstances become angry and who maintain the spirit of forbearance in speech and thought as well.

Out of these four types, the first includes those saints who are partially *virūdhaka* i. e. those who do not partly conform to the sermon of Lord Mahāvīra. The second includes those who are partly *virūdhaka* i. e. those who partially observe the rules laid down by Lord Mahāvīra. The third has within its fold those saints who are entirely *virūdhaka*. The fourth or the last consists of the group of such saints who are completely *virūdhaka*.

Thus, an attempt is here made by me to point out from the *Jaina* view-point different groups of humanity which can be formed on various grounds, with the hope that scholars well-versed in non-Jaina schools of thought will throw ample light on this subject from a comparative point of view.

NOTES ON INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

BY

P. K. GODE, M. A.

NIX

DATE OF CĀRITRAVARDHANA, COMMENTATOR OF
KUMĀRASAMBHAVA AND OTHER KAVYAS --
BETWEEN A. D. 1172 AND 1385.

Cāritravardhana (called also Vidyādhara or Sāhityavidyādhara, son of Rāmacandra Bhiṣaj) is the author of commentaries on (1) the *Kumārasambhava*, (2) the *Naisadhīya*, (3) the *Raghuvamśa* (4) the *Rāgharapāṇḍavīya* and (5) the *Śīsupālavadha*.¹

Mr. S. P. Pandit in his edition of the *Raghuvamśa*² gives a detailed list of references to earlier works and authors found in Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the *Raghuvamśa*.

My own casual reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentaries on the *Kumārasambhava* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 244 of 1880-81) shows the following references to earlier works and authors :--

दृष्टिः (fol. 1); काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 1); अमर (fols. 2, 5, 8, 10, 25, 28, 37, 40, 60); अभिधानचिंतामणि (fols. 3, 4, 47); हेमकोष (fols. 9, 10, 50, 57); वल्लभमट्ट (fol. 11); मनुः or मनुस्मृतिः (fol. 15); भगवद्गीता (fol. 15); विश्वः (fols. 17, 28); वैजयन्ती (fol. 21); उद्योतिःशास्त्र (fol. 30); भट्टिप्रयोगः (fol. 41); दुर्घटवृत्तिः (fol. 61).

A further reading of a Ms. of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the *Śīsupālavadha* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 53 of 1873-74) gives us among others, references to the following previous works and authors :--

अमर (fol. 8, 34, 35, 39, 49, 54); अभिधानचिंतामणि (fol. 8, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 26, 30, 33, 34, 37, 38, 40, 42, 46, 48, 105, 112); वैजयन्ती (fol. 24,

¹ Aufrecht. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, part, 1, p. 186.

² *Raghuvamśa* (1872), Appendix III.

47, 51, 53, 54, 77, 122, 148); जिनेन्द्रकृतन्यासः (fol. 26); ज्यांतिःशास्त्र (fol. 32); हेमः (39, 50, 55, 57, 62, 64, 66, 69, 71, 72, 75, 77, 78, 80, 83, 85, 101, 171, 172, 174); हेमाचार्याः (fol. 259); हेमकोश (fol. 43, 108); हलायुधः (fol. 49, 77, 142, 152); शकटायन (fol. 122); तारणकवः उक्तिः (fol. 123); भट्टिकाव्य (fol. 128); भागवि (fol. 306).

Cāritravardhana refers to the following works and authors in his commentary on the *Meghadūta* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 345 of 1895-98) :—

अमर (fol. 5, 6, 9, 14 etc.); हलायुधः (fols. 6, 21, 27); अभिधानचिन्तामणि (fols. 6, 10, 11, 16, 22, 24, 27, 28, 30, 38, 39, 40, 45, 48, 55, 59, 63, 67); यादवः (fol. 8, 11, 23, 24, 26, 32, 39, 43, 44, 54, 62); चांद्रशेखर-नुशासन (fol. 22); केशवः (नानार्थार्णवसंक्षेप) fol. 44 ; दंड्यलंकार (fol. 49); रामायण (fol. 65).

In the above list of references from Cāritravardhana's commentaries collected by me the reference to दुर्घटवृत्ति is important as it gives us one terminus to Cāritravardhana's date. In Mr. S. P. Paudit's list of references, made by Cāritravardhana to earlier works in his commentary on the *Raghuvamśa* there is no reference to *Durghaṭavṛtti*. So far as my search goes Cāritravardhana makes use of the दुर्घटवृत्ति only once in his commentary on the *Kumārasambhava* (B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 244 of 1880-81) on the fol. 61 as under :—

“ विधीति । अनन यथागच्छतेति स्वयं मार्गस्य दर्शकः सोऽत्रिः विधिना प्रयुक्तः कृतः सत्कारः पूजा येषां तैः शुद्धकर्मभिः निर्मलक्रियैः तैः मुनिभिः शुद्धान्तमंतःपुरं आक्रमयामास अत्राक्रमिष्येस्तेवद्वर्तते । अन्यथा क्रमेणैवार्थत्वाद्भित्तुद्धीत्यादिना कर्मत्वं स्यात् इति दुर्घटवृत्तिः ”

I have been able to identify the above reference in a printed edition of the *Durghaṭavṛtti*¹ where it appears as follows :—

“ अथ कथं

‘ विधिप्रयुक्तसत्कारिः स्वयं मार्गस्य दर्शकः ।

स तैराक्रमयामास शुद्धान्तं शुद्धकर्मभिः ॥ ’

इति कुमारः आक्रमणस्य गुणभूतगत्यर्थत्वात् । उच्यते । ‘ विधिप्रयुक्तसत्कारान् शुद्धान्तं शुद्धकर्मभिः ’ इति द्वितीयान्तपाठः कर्तव्यः । अथ वा ‘ ज्ञापकसिद्धं न सर्वत्रेति गुणभूतगत्यर्थेन क्वचिदेव कर्मत्वम् ॥ ”

¹ *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Saranadeva, edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. VI, 1909) p. 27.

The above identification makes it clear that Cāritravardhana composed his commentary on the Kumārasambhava at least a few generations, if not more, after the composition of the *Durghatavṛtti*. We know that Śaranadeva composed the Durghatavṛtti in A. D. 1172¹ which must therefore, be looked upon as one terminus to the date of Cāritravardhana.

Another terminus to the date of Cāritravardhana may be furnished by the statement of Mr. Nandargikar that Dinakara's commentary on the Raghuvamśa is simply an epitome of Cāritravardhana's commentary on the same Kāvya.² Dinakara gives his own date,³ which is A. D. 1385. If the statement of Mr. Nandargikar is correct, we can take A. D. 1385 as another terminus to Cāritravardhana's date. We may, therefore conclude on the basis of the foregoing evidence that *Cāritravardhana lived between A. D. 1172 and 1385*.

XX

ANTIQUITY OF A FEW SPURIOUS VERSES FOUND IN SOME MSS OF THE MEGHADŪTA OF KĀLIDĀSA

(1) Dr. K. B. Pathak in his edition of the *Meghadūta*⁴ quotes nine verses which he treats as spurious. This number does not include the following verse which I have found in some Mss of the poem in the Govt. Mss Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The verse⁵ reads as follows in the different Mss mentioned below :—

(i) *Ms No. 388 of 1884-87* — Meghadūta with tippapa dated saivvat 1517 (= A. D. 1461) — last verse :—

¹ *Durghatavṛtti* (Tri. Sans. Series No. VI-1909). Preface, p. 2.

² *Raghuvamśa* (edited by G. R. Nandargikar, 1897) Introduction, p. 17.

³ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

⁴ *Meghadūta*, Poona, 1916 (Appendix I) pp. 69-70.

⁵ This verse also occurs in a Ms of *Meghadūta* with the commentary *Meghalatā* (B. O. R. I. No. 160 of 1882-83) but the commentary does not comment this verse — which may indicate that the *Meghalatā* commentary is older than this verse.

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमिदं मेघदूताभिधानं ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयुक्ते विनोदि ॥
 मेघश्लास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावः कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणयुगलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२५ ॥ ”

(ii) *Ms No. 390 of 1884-87* — Meghadūta with commentary Sukhabodhikā dated Samvat 1641 (= A. D. 1585) — last verse :—

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने दुःखयुक्ते विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्लास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावं कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२७ ॥ ”

(this verse is also commented on by the author of Sukhabodhikā, showing thereby that it was in existence before 1585 A. D.).

(iii) *Ms No. 344 of 1895-98* — Meghadūta with commentary of Lakṣmīnīvāsa, dated Samvat 1713 (= A. D. 1657) — last verse :—

“ (इत्थं) भूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयोगे विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्लास्मिन्नतिनिपुणतां बुद्धिभावे कवीनां ।
 (न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२६ ॥ ”

(The portions bracketed in this verse are lost owing to the last folio being damaged).

(iv) *Ms No. 343 of 1885-98* — Text with commentary (name of the commentator not mentioned) dated Samvat 1749 (= A. D. 1693) — last verse :—

“ पाठांतरं । इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडाविरहितजने विप्रयोगे विनोदः ।
 मेघश्लास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावी कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२७ ॥ ”

(v) *Ms. No. 347 of 1895-98* — Text with a few marginal notes ; dated Samvat 1856 (= A. D. 1800) — last verse :—

“ इत्थंभूतं सुचरितमतं मेघदूतं च नाम्ना ।
 कामक्रीडा विरहितजना विप्रयोगे विनोदः ॥
 मेघश्लास्मिन्नतिनिपुणता बुद्धिभावी कवीनां ।
 न त्वार्यायाश्चरणकमलं कालिदासश्चकार ॥ १२१ ॥ ”

It will be seen from these five dated Mss referred to above that the verse in question was in existence in A. D. 1461 and hence could be repeated in the subsequent copies dated A. D. 1585, 1657, and 1693 and 1800.

As the verse in question was in existence in A. D. 1461, it is possible that Lakṣminivāsa who wrote his commentary on the Meghadūta in A. D. 1458¹ (see Ms No. 344 of 1895-98 above) may have known it but did not comment on it as he may have looked upon it as spurious. Ms No. 344 of 1895-98 contains this verse without the comment of Lakṣminivāsa on the same. Another Ms No. 159 of 1882-83 (dated Saṃvat 1759 = A. D. 1703) omits this verse altogether. The author of the commentary *Sukhabodhikā* (Ms No. 390 of 1884-87) dated 1585 A. D. mentions this verse and comments on it, presumably thinking that it was not spurious.

(2) We further find the following verses in the list of spurious verses given by Dr. Pathak :—

H — “ तं संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचा चक्षुः ।
प्राणास्तस्या जनहितरतां रक्षितुं यक्षवध्वाः ।
प्राप्योदंतं प्रमुदितमनाः सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः ।
केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमधु ॥

I — श्रुत्वा वार्तां जलदकथितां तां धनेशोऽपि सद्यः ।
ज्ञापयान्तं सद्यहृदयः संविधायास्तकोपः ॥
संयोज्येती बिगलितशुची दंपती दृष्टचिन्तौ ।
भागानिष्टानाविरतसुखं भोजयामास शश्वत् ॥ ”

It will be seen from Dr. Pathak's Synoptical table (p. XXVII of his Introduction) that these two verses are *not found* in the *Pārśvābhyūdaya* of Jinasena, in Mallinātha's commentary and in Vallabha's commentary. They are found in the commentaries of *Sarasvatī-tīrtha*, in the *Sūroddhūriṇī* and in the commentaries of *Mahimasīmha-gaṇī* and *Sumatīvijaya*. The chronological order of these works is as under according to Dr. Pathak :—

1. *Sūroddhūriṇī* — Before Saṃvat 1617 (= A. D. 1561).
2. *Sarasvatī-tīrtha* — Before Saṃvat 1854 (= A. D. 1798).
3. *Sumatīvijaya* — About Saṃvat 1690 (= A. D. 1634).
4. *Mahimasīmha-gaṇī* — Saṃvat 1693 (= A. D. 1637).

The above chronological order shows that these verses were in existence before A. D. 1561 according to Dr. Pathak's evidence.

I find, however, that these verses were known to Cāritra-vardhana, the celebrated commentator on the Meghadūta, Raghu-

¹ Aufrecht : *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. I, p. 539.

varṇa etc. In the B. O. R. I. Ms. No. 345 of 1895-98 of his commentary on the Meghadūta these verses appear as under :—

" तत्संदेशं जलधरवरो दिव्यवाचा ववक्षे
 प्राणांस्तस्या विनिभूतरो रक्षितुं यक्षवध्वाः
 प्राप्योदंत प्रमुदितमना सापि तस्थौ स्वभर्तुः
 केषां न स्यादभिमतफला प्रार्थना ह्युत्तमेषु
 { पक्षेणैव प्रकथितपथो मूलतोऽनुक्रमेण
 { गत्वा दृष्ट्वा धनपतिपुरीं तां च वातायनस्थां ॥ ११६ ॥ "

" श्रुत्वा वार्त्ता जलदकथितां तां धनेशापि सद्यः ।
 शापस्यांतं सद्यहृदयः संविदापास्तकोणः ॥
 संयोज्यंतौ विगलितशुची दंपती तुष्टचित्तौ ।
 भोगानिष्टानविरतमुखं भोजयामास शश्वत ॥ ११८ ॥ "

(The two lines marked by a bracket appear to be a later interpolation as Cāritravardhana's commentary explains only the first four lines ending with the word " उत्तमेषु ").

It will be seen from the above evidence that these two spurious verses viz. H and I of Dr. Pathak's list were known to Cāritravardhana and that he commented on it. I have shown elsewhere (vide Note XIX above) that Cāritravardhana flourished between A. D. 1172 and 1385. This would justify my conclusion that verses H and I were known before A. D. 1385 or in general I may say that they are as old as Cāritravardhana's time.

XXI

A COMMENTARY ON THE *KUMĀRASAMBHAVA*
 CALLED *ŚABDĀMṚTA* BY KĀYASTHA GOPĀLA
 (SON OF BALABHADRA) AND ITS PROBABLE DATE—

Middle of the 15th Century

Aufrecht records only one Ms.¹ of a commentary on the *Kumārasambhava*, called *Śabdāmṛta* by Gopāladāsa viz. " Peters. 4,25 " which is identical with a Ms. No. 678 of 1886-92 in the Govt. Mss. Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The Ms. of this commentary is incomplete, consisting of cantos I and II and about

¹ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pt. II, 22.

66 verses of canto III. The author appears to be a learned pandit as will be seen from the following works and authors referred to by him :—

सारस्वतव्याकरण (fol. 2); सारस्वत (fol. 39); माधवनिदान (fol. 2); अमर (fol. 2, 3, etc.); अमरसिंह (fol. 4); वृद्धिच् (fol. 5); संगीतरत्नाकर (fol. 4, 11); भरतसंगीत (fol. 4); कोषः (fol. 6, 11, 12, 14, 16, 19, 25, 28, 32, 34, 36); विश्वकोषः (fol. 6); विश्वः (fol. 7, 9, 15, 20, 21, 31, 33, 36); अजयकोषः (fol. 6); यादवकोषः (fol. 35); ब्रह्मांडपुराण (fol. 7); मनुः (fol. 7, 18); हलायुधः (fol. 9, 12, 21, 30); अभिधानरत्नाकर (fol. 9); क्षीरस्वामीटीका (fol. 10); क्षीरस्वामीवचन (fol. 17); कालापव्याकरण (fol. 10) प्रक्रियाकौमुदी (fol. 10); काव्यप्रकाश (fol. 11); आचार्य (fol. 12); निघंट (fol. 16); सरस्वतीतीर्थ (fol. 2, 24); केशव (fol. 24); गीतावचन (fol. 25) मेदिनीकरः (fol. 29); विश्वलोचनः (fol. 31); योगसार (fol. 35).

Some of the references in the above list will enable us to locate the probable date of Gopāladāsa's commentary. He appears to have lived at a time when Pāṇini's grammar was not much in vogue. References to Sārasvata Grammar (fols. 2, 39), Kālāpa (or Kātantra) Grammar (fol. 10) and to the Prakriyā Kaumudī (fol. 10) make this point clear. The Sārasvata school of grammar continued its vigorous existence from about 1250 A. D. down to the modern revival of Pāṇini under the auspices of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita¹ and his pupils. As Bhaṭṭoji lived about A.D. 1630² we may fix A. D. 1630 as the later terminus to the date of Gopāladāsa. The earlier terminus is found in the reference to the *Prakriyā-Kaumudī* (fol. 10) which is assigned by Mr. K. P. Trivedi³ to the latter half of the 14th century⁴ (i.e. between A. D. 1350 and 1400). As Gopāladāsa quotes⁵ from the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* we can safely presume that he must have lived a few generations after the composition of the *Prakriyā Kaumudī* i.e. about the middle of the 15th century, a period which harmonizes also with the reference to *Medinikara* (fols. 29, 37) in the present commentary. This lexicon has been assigned to the 14th century.⁵ In Rāyamukuta's commentary on the *Amarakośa* there are many quotations from *Medinika-*

¹ Belvalkar ; *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 92.

² Ibid, p. 47.

³ *Prakriyā Kaumudī*, B. S. S. No. LXXVIII, Intro. p. XLIV.

⁴ B. O. R. I. Ms No. 678 of 1886-92—fol. 10—

" व्युत्पत्त्यलक्षणं च । स्वामिषेयापेक्षोऽवधिनियमो व्युत्पत्त्येति " —प्रक्रियाकौमुदी

⁵ Keith : *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 414.

ra's lexicon.¹ The date of Rāyamukuta's commentary is A.D.1431. Hence the lexicon of Medinikara must have been composed before A. D. 1431. Our inference therefore that Gopāladāsa, who quotes from a lexicon composed before A. D. 1431 must have written his commentary on the Kumārasambhava, say between A. D. 1440 and 1460 or in the middle of the 15th century, appears to be fairly correct.

Other authors and works referred to by Gopāladāsa being earlier in point of date than the *Prakṛīgū Kaumudī* and the *Medinikara* are not of any use for chronological purpose with the exception of the references to the *Saṅgītaratnākara* (fols. 4, 11) which furnish a sure terminus viz. A. D. 1247² for the date of Gopāladāsa.

Another work ascribed to our Gopāladāsa is *Karāṭikautuka*, a Ms of which has been recorded by Weber.³ This work is a treatise on the diseases of elephants in verse form.

Gopāladāsa informs us in the preamble⁴ to the commentary on the Kumārasambhava that he wrote this commentary under the supervision of "सम्पत्तीर्थ" and by the order of "नामतीर्थ." I am, however, unable to identify these persons for want of more particulars. One नामतीर्थ is credited with the work उपदेशसहस्रक्रतु-व्याख्या on Vedānta in Aufrecht's Catalogue⁵ and two Mss of this work are recorded by Oppert.⁶ The name सम्पत्तीर्थ, however, is nowhere mentioned in Aufrecht's Catalogue.

¹ G. R. Nandargikar : Preface to the *Raghuvamśa*, 1897, p. 3.

² *Encyclopédie de la Musique*, Part I, p. 271, a.

³ *Catalogue of Mss in the Berlin Library* (1853) Part I, p. 292.

⁴ B. O. R. I. Ms No. 678 of 1886-92 — folio, 1 —

“ आलोच्याकरपाटं कुमारकाव्यस्य रच्यते तिलकं ।

गोपालदासकविना सम्पत्तीर्थनिशासनतः ॥ ४ ॥

शब्दार्थभृन्नभेतस्य नामतीर्थीजयाकरोत् ।

कृतीकायस्यगोपालः सोणीपालस्फुट्त्वा ॥ ५ ॥ ”

⁵ *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, 67 a

⁶ *Lists of Sanskrit Mss in Southern India*, Vol I, p. 432, (No. 5353); p. 434 (No. 5267).

DATE OF THE SAMGĪTA-RĀGA-KALPA-DRUMAH

BY O. C. GANGOLY

In a learned note published under the heading 'Notes on Indian Chronology' (A. B. O. R. I., Vol, XIII, 1931, pp. 180-182), Mr. P. K. Gode has discussed the probable date of a Ms. of *Samgīta-rāga-kalpadruma* by Krishnananda Vyasadeva. After discussing the various musical texts utilized by the author in compiling his work, Mr. Gode comes to the conclusion that the *Samgīta-kalpadruma* can be assigned to a period between 1750 A. D. and 1800 A. D.

Apparently, it was not known to the learned writer of the note that this work has been printed twice, the original edition having been printed in Samvat 1899 (1842 A. D.) and a revised edition in 2 volumes having been printed in 1916 A. D. (S. 1973), edited by Nagenāra Nath Basu and published by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad under the munificent patronage of Raja Itao Jogindra Nārāyan Ray Bāhādur of Lalgola. As pointed out in Mr. N. N. Basu's Hindi Introduction to the revised edition, the Ms. of the work " carried about by the author in a huge bundle " was seen, (though not examined), by Rajendralal Mitra, at Calcutta, about the year 1836, if not later. According to the dates given in the original edition, the first part was printed on 19th March 1842 and the last part in 1849. According to the author's Introduction (Rāg-sāgarī sūcanā) in Hindi, it took him 32 years to collect the data. Mr. N. N. Basu estimates that the author was born in 1794 A. D. It is very probable the Ms. was complete and made ready for publication, very shortly before 1836 A. D. say about 1830 A. D. The author was a Gouda Brahmin, hailing from, Johaini, Deva-gaḍa-kote in Udaipur. He had his musical training in Br̥ndāvana, probably under Dāmodara Gosvāmī. Samgītā-cārya, and the title of ' Rāga-sāgara ' was conferred on him by the Gossains of Gokula. The author was in Calcutta for several years and was honoured and patronized by the cultured society of this city and he projected his Encyclopaedia of Indian Music on the model of Raja Radha Kanta Deva's *Śabda-kalpa-druma*. I believe copies of the revised edition of the Samgīta-Rāga-Kalpa-druma are still available. It deserves a place in the Library of the Institute.*

* The work is noticed and described by M. Garcin de Tassy in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindoue et Hindoustanie, Tome Second, p. 520.*

REVIEWS

MALAVIYA COMMEMORATION VOLUME; BENARES
HINDU UNIVERSITY, 1932. 1150 pp., Rs. 10 only.

In commemoration of the long services of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to this country in general and the Benares Hindu University in particular, the latter has presented to their *Kulapati* on the happy occasion of his septuagenary a Commemoration Volume — a handsome volume of more than a thousand pages with the photographs of the Pandit at different stages of life as also of the Hindu University sites and buildings — in which friends, admirers and co-workers of the great educationist, both in and outside the Hindu University, have contributed papers specially written to commemorate the happy occasion. These papers which are in three languages, English, Hindi and Sanskrit, have been divided into five sections: (1) Literature (2) History, Politics and Economics (3) Religion and Philosophy (4) Science and (5) Greetings, Appreciations and Memoirs. As this review is mainly concerned with subjects of Indian antiquarian and historical interest, we would take notice of papers of sections (2) and (3) that deal with Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.

Of the seventeen papers included in Section II (History, Economics and Politics) as many as eleven relate themselves to the subject of Ancient and Mediaeval Indian History and Culture in one or other of its various aspects of study. This is an eloquent evidence of the growing interest in the subject and its encouragement in our Universities.

In his short note on *The Murunda Dynasty and the date of Pāḍālipta* Mr. K. P. Jayaswal points out that a dynasty of rulers called the Murundas ruled at Pāṭaliputra contemporaneously with the Kuṣāṇa rulers of Peshawar or Puruṣapura. The Murundas, according to the Purāṇic calculation, were in power as long as the middle of the 3rd century A. D. He incidentally fixes the time of the Jaina teacher Pāḍālipta whose religious instructions to the

Muruṇḍa of Pāṭalīputra are noted in several Jaina texts including the *Prabhāvakarīta*. This time, he says, is the same as that of Kaṇiṣka or his predecessors, which is further corroborated by Pādalipta's controversy with Nāgārjuna who is associated with Kaṇiṣka. Dr. Ganganath Jha's paper is a short but well-documented analysis of the *Sources of Property under Hindu Law* according to Manu and Gautama, while Dr. R. K. Mookorjee contributes a rather long but interesting paper on *Ancient Indian Education as described in the Smṛti Texts*.

But perhaps of more than usual interest is the paper on *New Light on the Early Gupta History* where Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar discusses in detail the historicity of the story related in the Sanskrit drama *Devicandraguptam* bearing upon the adventurous life of king Candragupta II and referred to by Bāṇa in his *Harṣacarita*, in the Sañjan copper plate of Amoghavarṣa, in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* of Rājasekhara, in the *Śṛṅgūraprakāśa* of Bhoja, in the story of Rawwāl and Barkamāris as narrated in the *Mojma't-Tawarikh*, and lastly by Śaṅkarārya in his commentary on the *Harṣacarita*. It is here, probably for the first time that a systematic attempt is made to reconstruct the history entangled in this mass of materials brought to notice and discussed by a series of scholars. Prof. Bhandarkar's main findings are (1) that Viśakhadatta, the author of *Devicandraguptam* is the same as the author of the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, (2) that the Śaka referred to in the *Nūṭya-darpaṇa* was not a Śaka ruler, but was a preceptor of the Śakas (*Śikānām-Acāryaḥ*) as Śaṅkarārya gives us to understand (3) that the hostilities between Śakācārya and Rāmagupta took place somewhere near Kārtikeyapura (identical with Baijnāth in the Himālayas) which is called Kārtikeyanagara in the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* where Śarmagupta (misreading for Rāmagupta) is said to have been forced to retreat after giving his queen Dhruvasvāminī to the King of the Khasas (misreading for Śakas), (4) that Rāmagupta was the elder brother of Candragupta II and is to be identified with king whose name is read in the Gupta coins as Kācagupta, and finally that (5) in the course of a hostility that ensued between the Śakas and Rāmagupta the latter agreed to give over Dhruvadevi, his wife, to the Śakas as ransom for peace, and tried to dissuade Kumāra Candragupta, his brother, from

going in the garb of his queen to kill the enemy, the Śākācārya in this case. Candragupta, however, in spite of the remonstrances of Rāmagupta, resolved to carry out his object, and dressed as Dhruvadevi succeeded in killing the Śaka preceptor and thus enhanced his fame and also his hold over the popular mind. But this roused the suspicion of Rāmagupta who had him arrested and imprisoned, but later on Candragupta succeeded in killing his brother, and seizing not only his throne but also his queen Dhruvadevi whom he married and who is supposed to have already had some attractions for her brother-in-law.

It may be noted in this connection in an issue of J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, 1932 part I, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in his article on *Candragupta II (Vikramāditya) and his Predecessor* has arrived at conclusions that are mainly identical with Prof. Bhandarkar's. Thus Mr. Jayaswal seems to accept that Viśakhadatta, the author of the *Devicandragupta* is the same as the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, that Rāmagupta is merely a misreading for Kācagupta of the coins, and that Śarmagupta and Khasa of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* are misreadings for Rāmagupta and Śakas, that the widow Dhruvadevi was remarried to Candragupta II after the death of Rāmagupta had been brought about, and that the Śaka killed by Candragupta in disguise was the religious leader of the Śakas.* But he thinks that the Śaka killed by Candragupta was, besides being the religious leader, the lord or king of the Śakas as well. With regard to the identification of the place where the Śaka ruler's camp was pitched, Mr. Jayaswal seems to differ from Prof. Bhandarkar. He thinks that the place is to be identified with the Doab of Jullundhur between the Beas and Jhelum in the Punjab. The most important of these points, however, is the identification of Rāmagupta with Kācagupta. In support of it Mr. Jayaswal refers to his personal talk with Prof. Bhandarkar, but the scholars will now do well to consider carefully the line of reasoning so cleverly adduced by the Professor in his paper.

* Prof. Bhandarkar's paper was read as a lecture before the Calcutta University, and a summary of it appeared in *Liberty* of Sunday, Aug. 23, 1931.

In another paper Dr. Ramashankar Tripathi of the Hindu University discusses the *Early Position of Harṣa* where his main finding is that after the assassination of Rājyavardhana Harṣa was immediately crowned king on the throne of Thāneśvar, and so far as the evidence of *Harṣacarita* is concerned there was no hesitation on the part of Harṣa to accept the crown, as suggested by Smith and others. In fact, whatever hesitation in being crowned king was there is indicated in the itinerary of Yuanchwang alone, and it refers itself to the throne of Kanoj where Rājyasri, his widowed sister, was the real heir. But after the intervention, of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara as it were, Harṣa persuaded himself to accept the throne of Kanoj - not calling himself *Mahārāja*, but simply *Kumāra Śilāditya*. But it should be mentioned here that this point was clearly discussed and the finding made long ago by the present reviewer in his paper on *Harṣa-Śilāditya : A Revised Study* in the Indian Historical Quarterly, December, 1927. Dr. Tripathi refers to me in two minor points only, though his main arguments follow the same course as mine; and, in one or two places his words and language are also the same, quoted, however, without acknowledgment. Further his incidental identification of Malwa (Mālava) where Devagupta was king with Eastern Malwa is not certainly original. This identification also was for the first time suggested and pointed out, on the strength of Vātsyayana's evidence, by me in my paper on *The Maukharis of Kanoj* published in *Calcutta Review* as early as February, 1928 (p. 210). There in that article I suggested, also for the first time, that after two serious reverses from the hands of two successive Maukhari kings, Īśānavarman and Śarvavarman, the Gupta power of Magadha suffered a severe blow, and that after the defeat and death of Dāmodaragupta, the Maukharis bade fair to annex Magadha itself. This explains why Mahāsenagupta and one of his successors, Devagupta, are mentioned as kings of Mālava (Malwa) and not of Magadha, (p. 209-11). Dr. Tripathi accepts this theory but perhaps inadvertently passes it as his own.

In her short but very illuminating paper on *Classical and Mediaeval Indian Art* Dr. Stella Kramrisch discusses with authority the leading features of the main phases of Indian Art,

and thus establishes its main periods – the Early, the Classical, and the Mediaeval – which they themselves not only demand but actually dictate by their unmistakably visible features? She has also suggested incidentally that these three main phases of Indian Art are intimately connected with the racial history of the country. *Bāla-Gopāla-Stuṭi* by Mr. O. C. Gangoly is a neat and critical description of a newly discovered illustrated Ms. by the well-known South-Indian Vaiṣṇava saint Bilvamaṅgala Thākura, also known as Līlāśuka. It is dated by Mr. Gangoly, on stylistic grounds, c. 1425 A. D., slightly earlier than a manuscript with analogous illustrations known as *Vasanta-Vijāsa* which bears date Sam. 1508. As a document of Indian painting *Bāla-Gopāla-Stuṭi* is certainly of exceptional interest. Iconography is represented by a well-documented paper by Mr. B. C. Bhattacharya on *The Goddess of Learning in Jainism* materials of which are mainly drawn from Jaina Mss. preserved in different *Bhaṇḍ-ūras*. As a typical expression of the life and culture of the Cola kings of the South, the paper on *The Economy of a South Indian Temple* by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri is an interesting one. It is welcome news to all students of Indian culture and Art that 'under the *vimāna* in a dark passage round the *garbhagṛha*' of the Great Temple at Tanjore there are traces of fine frescoes in bright colours discovered very recently by a young scholar of the Annamalai University. Prof. Sastri regrets that 'as things move in this distracted and unfortunate country, it will be long before these fine frescoes become available for general study and criticism in proper reproductions.' But cannot the Archaeological Department move in this matter?

The mediaeval period of Indian History is represented by two very interesting papers, one on *The Annual Income and Expenditure of Sher Shah's Kingdom* by Mr. Paramatma Saran, and another on *Side-Lights on Currency in Mahārāṣṭra in the Seventeenth Century* by Prof. V. G. Kale. Both are virgin topics of study and are welcome contributions which await further elaboration in detail.

From the point of view of Indian History and Culture two very interesting papers are included in Section III (Religion and

Philosophy). One relates to the subject of *The Veda and its Interpretations* by Prof. A. B. Dhruva, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University, wherein he discusses the importance of ascertaining the correct interpretation of Vedic words, the true nature of Vedic deities, and the spirit of Vedic mythologies. The other paper on *Decline of Buddhism* by Prof. S. N. Bhattacharyya is a very illuminating one wherein he discusses the real causes of the decline of the religion in the land of its birth. Buddhism, according to him, perished not so much from persecution from outside as from the disintegration of the sanghas as a result of the loss of its moral force and of the corruptions within its fold that lent itself not only to political squabbles but to vicious religious practices as well.

15-4-32.

Niharrajan Ray

A HISTORY OF PĀLI LITERATURE BY BIMALA CHURN
LAW, Ph. D., M. A., B. L.; pp. XXVIII + 342 and VII + 343-
689, London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1933

Those who are familiar with the many works on Buddhism which have come from Dr. Bimala Churn Law's ready pen will find in his latest work abundant evidence of his wide reading and intimate knowledge of the Pāli literature. The work, which was approved by the University of Calcutta for the Griffith Memorial Prize in Letters in 1931, is unquestionably wanted, for in scope it transcends the works of Dr. Bode and Dr. Malasekera on the Pāli literature in Burma and Ceylon, and in wealth of detail it goes far beyond even Professor Winternitz's masterly sketch, which is to be made available in English. The two works, written from different standpoints, will be found admirably to supplement each other, and to facilitate the further investigation of the manifold problems of literary history presented by the abundant Pāli literature. Dr. Law is well aware how much there still remains to be done on the field in which he labours, and doubtless we may expect much further enlightenment at his hands. It is an interesting suggestion (ii. 646) that Pāli literature has still great possibilities of influence on the literature of the east and west alike, and that both modern and ancient Bengalee literature have drawn inspiration from Pāli literature.

The careful analysis of the contents of the important works dealt with is a feature of special value, and it is to be regretted that the index has not been extended so as to make available more readily the wealth of facts recorded. Dr. Law is on the whole more concerned with the matter than the form of the literature, and neither the *Theragāthā* nor the *Therīgāthā* arouses in him the admiration which others have felt for these texts. But he is more appreciative of the *Jinacarita*, and while not contesting the acquaintance of its author with the classical Sanskrit literature points out (ii. 614) that the style of poetry found in the works of Aśvaghoṣa or the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa leads us back to the gāthas forming the prologue of the Nālakaśutta in the *Suttanipāṭa* as its

model. On other points, perhaps unfortunately, he leaves us without assurance of his own views. Thus he cites (i. 276) the views of Professor Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 180-6, 205, 206) on the origin of the Jātakas in such a way as to suggest that he accepts the view held by that scholar, with Oldenberg and Windisch, of the Ākhyāna in verse and prose as the precursor of epic. It would unquestionably have been of value to have this subject considered once more by an expert from the standpoint of Buddhist literature, when in all probability the theory would have been seen to present at least as many problems as it solves.

It is natural to turn to Dr. Law's view (Introduction, pp. LXXXV) of the linguistic character of Pali. Dr. Law adopts a view of the famous passage of the Vinaya on *sakā nirutti* which denies it any linguistic reference. He holds that it means " a mode of expression which a member of the Holy Order might claim as his own, that is to say, an idiom, a diction, a language or a vehicle of expression with which a Bhikkhu was conversant, which a person could use with advantage, a mode of expression which was not Buddha's own but which might be regarded as one by the Bhikkhus representing diverse names, cultures, races, and families. One's mother tongue or vernacular would also be an interpretation of *sakā nirutti* inconsistent with the context as well as with the Buddha's spirit of rationalist. " It is not easy to accept this view as cogent. It is, of course, true that the term *sakā nirutti* cannot possibly mean the speech of the Buddha, assumed by Buddhaghosa to be Māgadhi, but, as the alternative is *Chandaso*, it seems impossible not to give the term a definite reference to language, and we may permit the Buddha to have the honour of having encouraged the use of the vernacular for his gospel. That, it seems to me, accords well with his rationalism for a version of his tenets *chandaso* would hardly have helped the diffusion of his doctrine. We can, however, only agree with Dr. Law in leaving open the issue of the dialect on which Pāli is based. It is so literary a language when it is recorded that any particularisation runs serious risk of exceeding what is legitimate in the way of speculation.

Attention should also be called to Dr. Law's elaborate investigation (i. 1-42) of the chronology of the Pāli canonical texts, which contains much of interest and importance. It must, however, remain, doubtful what value is to be attached to the

theory (i. 324,325) which ascribes the *Kathāvatthu* to the period of Asoka, and all conclusions which assume the truth of that ascription suffer from the dubiety of its accuracy. Similarly the *Dhammazungāṇi*, which Mrs. Rhys Davids ascribes to the fourth century B. C. may well be very considerably later in date. It is unlucky that conclusive evidence of any sort in these matters is still lacking. The collection of data by the author is most valuable, but in nearly every case nothing but relative chronology can be regarded as attained, and in many instances even this is lacking. It is still not proved that Asoka knew any of our texts in anything like their present form.

Our sincere thanks are due to the author for his two Appendixes the first on the historical and geographical data of the Piṭakas, and the second on the Pāli tracts in inscriptions. On minor points throughout the volumes there is often room for divergence of view, and as usual there are a regrettable number of misprints (a 'not' is needed at p. XXV, line 2), but these points are negligible in comparison with the interest and value of the treatise.

A. Berriedale Keith

KALIDASA : HIS PERIOD, PERSONALITY AND POETRY

BY K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI, B. A., B. L., Vol. I, Published

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Poet and patriot, Mr. K. S. Rāmāsawami Śāstri has endeared himself to the learned and thinking public of India, and South India in particular by thought-provoking contributions too numerous to mention. A close and critical student of Sanskrit literature Mr. Śāstriar has made a special study of Kālidāsa's works, and the volume before us is full of evidence. In the introductory chapter he states that his aim in writing this book is to interpret Kālidāsa 'with the object of winning the love of modern India and of the modern age to the Sanskrit language and literature to the Indian culture'.

After referring to the place of the poet in life and literature, the learned author proceeds to discuss his birth-place and the birth date. After an elaborate examination of the different theories which hold the field in a convincing manner the author concludes that Benares was his native home and that Kālidāsa must have flourished in the second century B. C. It is held with great force that Agnimitra was son of Puspamitra (Pusyamitra), and Vasumitra was his son. In the light of the critical enquiries set forth in the book one cannot help concluding that Kālidāsa had nothing to do with the Guptas, as is alleged and was a contemporary of Agnimitra, king of Vidiśa.

The author has also pointed out the indebtedness of Kālidāsa to the Upaniṣadic lore and to poets like Vālmiki. The major works like the *Kumārasambhava* and *Vikramorvaśīya* bear infallible testimony that Kālidāsa was a close student of the Purāṇas, especially the *Matsya Purāṇa*, one of the oldest Purāṇas. The account followed is the same as found in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and this proves that Kālidāsa lived posterior to the composition of the *Matsya Purāṇa*. Mr. Śāstriar has exploded the untenable theories of interpolations in some of his works, like the last cantos of the *Kumārasūmbhava*. He rightly shows how the so-called later portions completely fit in with the main theme, and how the language and style corroborate it strongly.

Two more points are worth noticing. One is the religion and philosophy of the poet. The author remarks 'He was a most catholic exponent of that most catholic of all religious Vedāntism'. The other point is that even in a big scheme like the world conquest, Raghu embarked on righteous warfare, Dharma Vijaya, which phrase has misled Aśokan scholars to think that Aśoka the emperor gave up arms and substituted morality! Kālidāsa seems to paraphrase the term by saying *anamrāṇām samuddhartā*. Thus the term is full of political significance, and Kālidāsa uses it in the Kauṭaliyan sense just like Aśoka in his inscriptions.

The value of this book would have been much enhanced by the addition of an index and bibliography. We hope the author will furnish these in the second volume promised to us shortly.

V. R. R. Dikshitar

INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL, VOL. III. EDITED BY NANI
GOPAL MAJUMDAR, M. A. Published by the Varendra Research
Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

This volume is published at the expense of Kumār Sarat Kumar Ray, M. A., of the Dighapatiya family, the founder of the Society and its Museum. It was originally the intention of the Society to bring out in Bengali the inscriptions of Bengal in three volumes. Only the first, containing the inscriptions of the Pāla period entitled *Gauḍa-lekha-mālā* was published about 19 years ago, under the editorship of the late Akshay Kumar Maitra. The Society has recently changed its plan, and contemplates issuing in English these inscriptions in four volumes, viz. the first comprising the inscriptions of the Gupta period, the second containing those of the Pāla period, the third of the Candras, the Varmans and the Senas, etc.; and the fourth of the Muslim period. The present volume has consequently been marked as the third.

We congratulate Mr. N. G. Majumdar and also the Hony. Secretary of the Society, Mr. Bijay Nath Sarkar, for bringing out this handy and welcome volume. We are sure that the scholars will much appreciate it, as it will save them the trouble of hunting out references from different books. The map showing the find-places of the inscriptions has much added to the value of this work. We hope with the Honorary Secretary that the companion volumes will not be long in coming out.

The present volume claims to contain roughly all the known inscriptions of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries A. D., but we do not find the inscriptions of Raṇavaṅkamalla (Colebrooke's *Mis. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 242), Kāntideva (*Modern Review*, Nov. 1922) and Govinda-Keśavadeva (*E. I.*, Vol. XIX, p. 278 ff. and *Proc. A. S. B.* pp. 141-151). Nevertheless, Mr. N. G. Majumdar seems to have taken great pains to improve upon the readings and interpretations of his predecessors and added, so far as the records contained in them are concerned, up-to-date information. The only fault we may find with him is that he has paid rather

scanty attention to the geography of the places mentioned in the inscriptions. Then he has published transcripts of some records without any reproductions accompanying them, even though they were available.

We would now pass some remarks about the readings, interpretations and Geography generally by way of detailed criticism of the book :

Page 5, line 3. - what has been read as *Nānya-maṇḍale* may also be read as *Nānya-maṇḍale*, i. e. in the Circle or District which is navigable'. Cf. *Vaṅge nānya Rāmasiddhipāṭake* and *rānye rinoyatilaka-grāme* in the Sāhitya-parisat copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena (p. 146). The places are water-logged (*bil*) even now.

Page 23, verses 10 and 11. - There has been some difference of opinion as to the interpretation of these two verses. Some portions on the obverse side of the plate have not come out very clear in the facsimile given. Of the reading : *Taśy = Odayā sūmur = abhūt* we could not find the ending *t* in the plate. There is, however, the name Udayī in line 17, and Jagadvijayamalla in line 19. We may or may not agree with Mr. N. N. Vasu, in his identification of Udayī with paramāra Udayāditya, king of Mālava, but his identification of Jagadvijayamalla, with his son Jagaddeva (*Vaṅger Jātīy / thihās, Rājanyakāṇḍa*, p. 286) is very tempting. This is strengthened by the epithet Mālavadevī of the queen Trailokyasundarī. It indicates that she was a daughter of a Mālava king. Further *Śrī-Rhojavarm = obhaya-varṇa-dīpah* in line 21, p. 20 appears to suggest that something laudatory has been said above, both about the father and mother's side of Bhōjavarmān. When Mr. Vasu made the identification, there was no reliable evidence as to the fact that Udayāditya had a son named Jagaddeva beyond the legendary account of the *Rāsa-mālā* (B. K. I., chap. 8). We have now before us the epigraphic evidence to show that Jagaddeva was a son of Udayāditya of Mālava in a recently published inscription found at Jainad (*Arch. Surv. Rep. of the Nizam's Dominions*, 1927-8, p. 23). Unfortunately the inscription gives no year. There is difficulty, however, in finding his approximate date. We know Udayāditya was

succeeded by his son Lakṣmadeva, who again was succeeded by his brother Naravarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. II, p. 182). Again, Naravarman was succeeded by his son Yaśovarmadeva. So it appears that Jagaddeva must be another name of either Lakṣmadeva or Naravarman. According to the accounts of the Bhāṭṣ, (Luard and Lele's *Puramaras of Dhar and Malava*, Reprint from Dhar State Gazetteer, p. 30), Jagaddeva offered his head to the goddess Kālī in the year 1151 V. S. which again is the first known date of Naravarman (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XIX. p. 27, No. 159). This clearly shows that Jagaddeva and Lakṣmadeva were identical. Jagaddeva ruled sometime between 1143 V. S., the last known date of his father Udayāditya, and his death in 1151 V. S.

Again Mr. Majumdar, in fixing the chronology of the Varmans mentioned in this record, says that the Varman ruler Jātavarman and the Pāla prince Vīgrahapāla III married daughters of the Cedi king, Karna. So they were contemporaries. Their sons Sāmalavarman and Rāmapāla were also contemporaries. So were their grandsons Bhojavarman and Kumārapāla. Then he writes: "The latest known date of Gāṅgeyadeva 1037 A. D. and that of his son Karna is 1075 A. D. The latter's sons-in-law Jātavarman and Vīgrahapāla III, must have therefore reigned within this period." (p. 17). First of all it is not true that the latest known date of Karna is 1073 A. D. It is the first known date of Yaśaḥkarna. Secondly, it is not clear why he considers the father-in-law and the sons-in-law to be contemporaries. They are as much contemporaries as fathers and sons are. Properly speaking Jātavarman and Vīgrahapāla III are contemporaries, not of Karna so much as of Karna's son Yaśaḥkarna. Now the latest known date of Karna is K. 812=106, A. D. and the earliest known date of Yaśaḥkarna's son Gayakarna is K. 902=1151 A. D. Jātavarman and Vīgrahapāla must have therefore reigned sometime between 1061 and 1151 A. D. Sāmalavarman was thus a contemporary of Gayakarna. Similarly, Bhojavarman was a contemporary of Narasiṃha and Jayasiṃha, sons of Gayakarna. The date of Gayakarna is K. 902=1151 A. D. and the earliest known date of Jayasiṃha's son Vijayasiṃha is K. 932=1181 A. D. Bhojavarman thus flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century, and not in the beginning of that century as contended by Mr. Majumdar (*Loc. cit.*, p. 17.)

Page 45, line 7 - This Umāpatidhara is perhaps identical with the poet Umāpatidhara, who wrote a book named *Candracūḍa-carita* under the patronage of one Cānakyaśaundara (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. VI, p. 566).

Pages 119-121. - Edilpura grant of Keśavasena - As regards the interpretation of the puzzling verse 10, we agree with R. D. Banerji that *Viśvarūpa-nṛpaḥ* is an epithet and not a name. We find that names of the donor kings wherever they occur, in this as well as in the Madanapāda plate, have been tampered with, but *Viśvarūpa-nṛpaḥ* has been left unaltered. This shows that it was not considered as the name of the king. If it is an epithet, to whom did it belong? As the preceding verses 8 and 9, as well as the following verses 11-14 refer to Lakṣmaṇasena, the epithet must also belong to him. By *bhūmapatinū* in verse 10, Vallālasena is meant. It cannot refer to Lakṣmaṇasena, as he was not a worshipper of god Bhava but of Narasiṃha or Viṣṇu.

The name of the queen in line 27 of the charter (p. 123) we read Rāṇḍadevi, which has been read by Mr. Majumdar as Candradevi. Again the name of the place (l. 38) of the grant (p. 124) we read Yakṣagrāma, in place of Phalgugrāma by Mr. Majumdar. For *kṣa* may be compared with *kṣa* in 'śitāsita-pakṣa' in line 1 of the script.

The name of the donated village in line 47, p. 125 has been read by Messrs. Banerji and Majumdar as Tālapadāpātaka, but Prinsep read it as Latātaghadāghātaka (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII, p. 45). We read it Latāntaghadāghātaka. The plate was found in the neighbourhood of village Latā, where the principal *kūcūri* of the Tagore zamindars of the Idilpur paraganā was situated. The village of Latā having been washed away, the *kūcūri* has been removed to the adjoining village of Ghodāghāta. The Latā river is still there.

In line 57 the number 200 denotes the value of the land, not in terms of *dramma*, but in terms of *hiranya*, as the shortened form *hi* would indicate.

In verse 21 by Garga-Yavana the Kālayavanas are meant, for they are the descendants of sage Garga (*Brahma-Purāṇa*,

Chap. 196). Here of course they must denote some party of Muhammadan raiders.

Page 133. – Madanapāḍa copper-plate grant of Viśvarūpasena:– We read Phalgugrāma as Candragrāma, for reasons, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV., p. 641.

We agree with Majumdar in reading the name of the queen as Tādādevī, but as regards the name of this very queen in the Sāhitya-parīṣat plate we agree with M. M. Haraprasāda Śāstri as Taṭṭanadevī. Tādā is perhaps the Prakrit form of Taṭṭana.

The real name of the donated village seems to be Piñjethālyagrāma (l. 46), which has been Sanskritized into Piñjokāṣṭi (ll. 43 and 45). Mr. Vasu could not read the syllable *lya* after Pinjothā (l. 46), but Mr. Majumdar has altogether omitted it.

The names of the king (ll. 22 and 38) and of his mother (l. 21) as also the lines 43–46, containing the descriptions of the donated land seem to have been an after-insertion. Mr. Vasu tried to explain this after-insertion of the name of king Viśvarūpa in two different places in different hands by saying that they were Royal sign-manuals. This does not seem to us to be satisfactory. Because why have the name of the queen-mother and the descriptions of the land been manipulated? Can it be that the grant of a predecessor of Viśvarūpasena with a name of three syllables was revised by him?

Page 152, line 1 of the Text – in footnotes Mr. Majumdar says that after *babhūva* and before *labdha-janmū* there were four letters of which the second one is clearly a *ga* and the third and the fourth letters look like °*ndhiya*. It is impossible to make out the reading with any degree of certainty as the letters are too far worn out. As far as can be made out from the facsimile given, we read *Nūgānva* between *babhūva* and *labdha-janmū*. The sign of *ā* is clearly attached to *ga*; so we read it as *gā*. For *nva*, compare it in line 24 of the Plate. There is no sign of *i* before *nva*. If our reading is correct, Īśvaraghosa was born in the Nāga clan. It may be asked: if he was a Nāga, how could he have the surname of Ghosha? There is no anomaly in this. The Nāgas had among them many surnames* and *gotras*. Thus among the Bengal Kāya-

* King Durlabhavarddhana of Kasmir belonged to the Nāga clan, but his surname was Varddhana.

sthas Nāgas have several *gotras*, of which one is Saukālina. One of the gotras of the Ghoshas is also Saukālina.

Page 161 - Mr. Majumdar has failed to indentify any of the places mentioned in the plate, but Lavanotsa mentioned in line 27 of the script can, without doubt, be identified with Lavanākhyā, about 3 miles north of Sitākunḍa police station of the district of Chittagong. It contains a salt spring and is a place of pilgrimage (*Chittagong District Gazetteer* p. 190).

Page 167, line 6 - Instead of Satatā-Padmāvati-Viṣaya perhaps Satatā - Padmāvati-Viṣaya was engraved, meaning the district consisting of the river Padmā with its banks. In old Sanskrit books the river Padmā is mentioned as Padmāvati.

Page 171 line 19 - The correct pravara of the Garga gotra, according to Baudhāyana is *Āṅgīras-Vārhaspatya--Bhāradvāja-Śainya-Gārgya*. Here as the pravara names have been mentioned without *taddhita*, so in place of *Śainya* it should be *Śīni*, but not *Uśana* as has been improved upon by Mr. Majumdar.

Page 171, note 12. It appears that there was a pillar in honour of the god Ugramādhava, on which the standard measurement of cubit consisting of 36 *āṅgulis* was engraved. A cubit generally consists of 24 *āṅgulis* (breadth of fingers). Vide *S. I. Ep. Rep.* for 1916-17, p. 84, No. 131 & *Ibid* for 1917-18, pp. 89 & 98 No. 5 and 97. +

Page 171, lines 19 & 20. - The donee Kṛṣṇadharasarma seems to have been a Dākṣiṇātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇa. There is a colony of these Brāhmaṇas in the Diamond Harbour sub-division of the district of 24 Parganas, where the donated land lies. Garga gotra is also found among them.

Page 175 - The Sena kings professed to be as Brahma-kṣatriyas in the Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena (p. 50) and also as Karnāta-Kṣatriyas in the Mādhānagara plate of Lakṣmaṇasena (p. 113). Some see inconsistency in this. But there appears to be none at all. Brahma-Kṣatriya is a sub-division of the Khatris, as the Karnāta-Khatris are (*Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. II. p. 206). Again the Brhma-Kṣatris of Gujarāt who went to Benares and Lucknow are known as Gujarāt Kṣatris (*Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 209). These Brahma-Kṣatris are writers by profession (*Ibid.* p. 212)

+ This custom of Southern India appears to have been introduced by the Senas in Bengal, who hailed from Karnāṭa.

The Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas are the priests of the Brahma-Kṣatriyas as well as of the Karpāta-Kṣatris. We find that Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa, a Sārasvata Brāhmaṇa, was the guru of Vallālasena (verse 6).

Page 178, note 12 - Instead of *Avallika* we read *Avantika*, meaning ' coming from Avantī ', perhaps to distinguish him from Halāyudha, the author of '*Brāhmaṇa-Sarvasva*.'

We find mention of a Halāyudha, an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Rādha, in an inscription in the Amareśvara Temple at Māṇḍhatā. C. P. dated Samvat 1120 (*Inscriptions in the C. P. and Perar*, p. 22). If the date is in Śaka era he becomes a contemporary of king Lakṣmanasena. He might be identical with Halāyudha, one of the first *Kulins* of Rādhi Brāhmans.

Page 179, lines 56-57 - note 3 - Sastri read Domvarakāṭṭi. It has now been correctly read as Ghāghrahāṭṭi. In our article in the *J. H. Q.* referred to above, we on the incorrect reading of Sastri identified it with the modern village of Rahamatapura. Now we have no doubt that it is identical with the village of Ghāghrahāṭi, where the plates of Samācaradeva and others were found. There is still a river named Ghāgharā (Ghargharā?). It is in the Kotālipārā paraganā of the Faridpur district, which is one of the 21 paraganās, which has been separated from Candradvīpa.

We have, in our aforesaid article, identified this Rājapandita Maheśvara with Maheśvara Vandyā, one of the first kulins of the Rādhi Brāhmans. Vandyas were perhaps the early settlers of Candradvīpa in Vaṅga. The following line from a *Kulaḥi* quoted by Mr. Pareścandra Vandyopādhyāya in page 349 of his History of Bengal called *Vāṅglār Purāṭṭa* goes to support this view :-

"Vandyā Vaṅge vās pārśve Vaṅglār āli."

In an inscription of 1145 śaka preserved in the Vāleśvara temple of Kumaun we find mention of a *Vaṅgaḥa* Brāhmaṇa named Rudra of the family of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa (*Notes on Himalayan districts of Atkinson*, p. 516). This Rudra was perhaps the son of Irśana Vandyā, who according to Dhruvānanda Miśra, was present at the court of Lakṣmanasena.

Note 4 - Mr. Majumdar wants to read the word as Candradvīpa or Indradvīpa. We do not understand how it can be read as Indradvīpa. As it stands in the facsimile it can be read as

Phandradvīpa cf. *pha* in *odānīphala* in lines 46-47 of the Madana. pāda charter (*J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXV. pt. I, Plate II,). We read it Candradvīpa. For our reasons see article in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IV.

Page 180, note I - There is *hi* before 500, so it indicates 500 *hiranya* and not *purāṇa* as supposed by Mr. Majumdar.

Page 187, - Karanas and the Kāyasthas do not appear to have had originally the same function. Karanas were probably writers and accountants, while the Kāyasthas were revenue officers. Karana also meant an office or a sub-department of an Adhikarana. Thus Karanika meant an officer in charge of a Karana. Karanika, which is derived from the same root as Kāranika, has been translated by Shamasastry in *Kautilya's Arthaśāstra* as 'Superintendent of accounts'.

Page 184 - Catṭa might also mean 'king's favourite'. In the grant of Vinita-tuṅga we find Bhaṭṭa-vallbha-jātiyān (*Arch. Sur. of Mayurabhañja*, p. 156). In Kautilya also find that people used to be tormented by king's favourites (*ballan*).

Page 186 - Mahā-kāyastha has been translated as 'the chief clerk', but the references quoted by Mr. Majumdar show that Mahā-kāyasthas were at the head of Mahattaras and Daśa-grāmikas (heads of ten villages), who were no doubt in charge of village lands and revenues. It is evident from the Ramganj plate of Īśvaraghosa that the functions of the Kāyasthas were different from those of Karanas or Lekhakas (scribes), for they have been separately mentioned in that plate (p. 156).

Page 191. line 13 - The names of the Pravara Rsis may be any three of the following: Kaśyapa, Avatsāra, Śaṇḍila (not Śaṇḍilya), Asita and Devala (Baudhāyana's *Śrauta-Sūtra*).

धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्यानमाला ।

चतुर्थं व्याख्यानम् ।

तृतीये व्याख्याने धर्मशास्त्रीयावस्थात्रयेऽपि विद्यमानानां सर्वेषां ग्रन्थ-
कृतां ग्रन्थानां च धर्मसूत्रस्मृतिनिबन्धात्मकानां वर्णनं कृतम् । तत्र च
तत्तद्ग्रन्थकृतो देशसमयादि विविच्य तदन्तर्गतविषया निरूपिताः । धर्म-
सूत्रस्मृतीनां तथा मनुयाज्ञवल्क्ययोश्च सालक्षण्यवैलक्षण्ये परीक्षिते । अधुना
प्रतिश्रुतानुसारं व्यवहारमयूखं पुरत उपक्षिप्य तद्वर्णितेन यथा पूर्वं व्यव-
हारस्य लक्षणं तदनु, अष्टादशानां पदानां संक्षिप्तं वर्णनं ततश्च वाच-
भागस्य विशेषतो विवरणं करोमि । तत्र व्यवहारो हि याज्ञवल्क्येन—

स्मृत्याचारव्यपेतेन मार्गेणाधर्षितः परैः ।

आवेदयति चेद्राज्ञे व्यवहारपदं हि तत् ॥

इति लक्षितः । मनुनाऽष्टादश पदानि वर्णितानि—

तंषामाद्यमृणादानं निक्षेपोऽस्वामिविक्रयः ।

संभूय च समुत्थानं दत्तस्यानपकर्म च ॥

वेतनस्यैव चादानं संविदश्च व्यतिक्रमः ।

क्रयविक्रयानुशयो विवादः स्वामिपालयोः ॥

सीमाविवादधर्मश्च पारुष्ये दण्डवाचिके ।

स्तेयं च साहसं चैव स्त्रीसंग्रहणमेव च ॥

स्त्रीपुंभर्मो विभागश्च धृतमाह्वय एव च ।

पदान्यष्टादशैतानि व्यवहारस्थिताविह ॥ इति ।

व्यवहारमातृकास्तु सभागृहस्य सभ्यादीनां लक्षणमासेसुर्दण्डादिकं च वर्णि-
तम् । साक्षिणां लक्षणपूर्वकं सत्यासत्यता दर्शिता । साक्ष्याद्यभावे द्विव्यानि
तत्सर्वसाधारणो विधिः । घटाविधि - वह्निविधि - जलविधि - विषविधि -
कोशविधि - तण्डुलाविधि - तप्तमाषविधि - फालाविधि - धर्मजविधिरूपाणि
द्विव्यानि कथितानि । अथ च शपथानां निर्णयः ।

१ ऋणादानस्य लक्षणं नारदेन कृतम्—

ऋणं देयमदेयं च येन यत्र यथा च यत् ।

दानघ्रहणधर्माश्च तद्व्यादानमुच्यते ॥

२ निक्षेपः—स्वधनस्यान्यास्मिन्नर्पणम् ।

३ अस्वामिना कृतो विक्रयः— अस्वामिविक्रयः ।

- ४ संभूय षणिगादीनां क्रियानुष्ठानम्-संभूयसमुत्थानम् ।
 ५ दत्तस्यानपाकर्म-दत्तस्य धनस्यापात्रबुद्ध्या क्रोधादिना वा ग्रहणम् ।
 ६ कर्मकरस्य भूतेरादानम्-वेतनस्यैव चादानम् ।
 ७ संविदो व्यतिक्रमः-कृतव्यवस्थाया अतिक्रमः ।
 ८ क्रयविक्रयानुशयः-क्रये विक्रये च कृते पश्चात्तापाद्विप्रतिपत्तिः ।
 ९ स्वामिपांलविवादः-स्वामिपशुपालयोर्विवादः ।
 १० सीमाविवादः-ग्रामसीमादिविप्रतिपत्तिः ।
 ११ दण्डवाक्यारूप्ये-वाक्यारूप्यमाक्रोशनादि, दण्डपारूप्यं ताडनादि ।
 १२ स्तेयं-निह्वेन धनग्रहणम् ।
 १३ साहसम्-प्रसह्य धनाहरणादि ।
 १४ स्त्रीपुं धर्मः-स्त्रियाश्च परपुरुषसंपर्कः, स्त्रीसाहितस्य पुंसो धर्मो व्यवस्था ।
 १५ अभ्युपेत्याशुश्रूषा-प्रतिश्रुत्य सेवाया अभावः ।
 १६ विभागः-पैतृकादिधनस्य च विभागः ।
 १७ दूतम्-मेषकुक्कुटादियोधनम् ।
 १८ आह्वयः-प्राणियूतम् ।

दायभागविषये पूर्वं सामान्यतो विविच्य विशेषवर्णनं क्रियते ।

व्यवहारे त्रयः प्रधानभूताः- १ विवाहः, २ दायहारिक्रमः, ३ दत्तकश्च । एते त्रयोऽपि धार्मिका इति वक्तुं शक्यम् । तत्र विवाहो विशेषतो धार्मिक एव । येन च दम्पत्योरैहिकपारलौकिकप्रवृत्तीनां धर्म्यत्वं तत्पुत्राणां च धर्म्यत्वम् । दत्तकपुत्रस्वीकारे हेतुद्वयम् । नामसंकीर्तनं पिण्डादिवानेन पारलौकिकाहितं च । द्वितीयं केवलधार्मिकं प्रथममप्यंशतः । दायहारिक्रमो यद्यपि लौकिककार्योपयोगी तथापि तन्निदानभूतः सापिण्ड्यशब्दः सपिण्ड-शब्दव्युत्पत्तिद्वारा धर्म्य एव । विवाहो वङ्गमहाराष्ट्रदाक्षिणात्येषु भिन्नः । तेन यस्मिन्देशे यथा रीत्या संपाद्यते तथा स संगृहीत एव । विवाहे संपन्ने तदीयं कार्यं सुव्यवस्थिततया संगृह्यते विधिभेदेऽपि न क्षतिः । मिताक्षराकृता दायो रक्तसंबन्धमनुसृत्य प्रतिपादितः । दायभागे तु स पिण्डदानद्वारा पिण्डमाहिद्वारा च । अनयोरुभयोरप्ययं क्रमः सपिण्डपदानुरोधादेव केवलम् । उभाभ्यां सापिण्डशब्दो द्विधा विव्रियते । तथाहि-

सापिण्डशब्दार्थः-असापिण्डा-समानः एकः पिण्डो वेहः यस्याः सा सपिण्डा..... । सपिण्डता च एकशरीरान्वयेन भवति । तथाहि, पुत्रस्य पितृशरीरावयवान्वयेन पित्रा सह सापिण्ड्यम् । एवं पितामहादिभिरपि पितृद्वारेण तच्छरीरावयवान्वयात् । एवं मातृशरीरावयवान्वयेन मात्रा । तथा मातामहादिभिरपि मातृद्वारेण । तथा मातृष्वसृमातुलादिभिरपि ।

एकशरीरावयवान्वयात् । तथा पितृव्यपितृष्वस्मादिभिरपि । तथा पत्या सख्य
पत्न्या एकशरीरारम्भकतया । एवं भ्रातृभार्याणामपि परस्परमेकशरीरारम्भैः
सहैकशरीरारम्भकत्वेन । एवं यत्र यत्र सपिण्डशब्दस्तत्र तत्र साक्षात् परं-
परया वा एकशरीरावयवान्वयो वेदितव्यः । यद्येवं मातामहादृनिनामपि
'दशाहं शावमाशौचं सपिण्डेषु विधीयते' इत्यविशेषेण प्राप्नोति । स्यादेतत् ।
यदि तत्र प्रत्तानामितरे कुर्युरित्यादिविशेषवचनं न स्यात् । ... अधश्च
चैकशरीरावयवान्वयेन सपिण्ड्यं वर्णनीयम् । 'आत्मा हि जज्ञ आत्मनः,
अङ्गाङ्गात्संभवति' इत्यादिश्रुतेः । तथा 'प्रजामनु प्रजायस' इति च । 'स
एवायं विरूढः प्रत्यक्षेणोपलभ्यते' इति आपस्तम्बवचनाच्च । तथा गर्भोप-
निषदि एतत् षाट्कौशिकं शरीरं त्रीणि मातृतः त्रीणि पितृतः । अस्थिस्नायु-
मज्जानः पितृतः त्वङ्मांसरुधिराणि मातृतः । इति तत्र तत्रावयवान्वयप्रति-
पादनात् । निर्वाप्यसपिण्डान्वयेन तु सपिण्ड्ये मातृसंताने भ्रातृपुत्रादिषु
च सपिण्ड्यं न स्यात् समुदायशक्त्यङ्गीकारेण रूढिपरिग्रहे अवयवशक्तिस्तत्र
तत्रावगम्यमाना परित्यक्ता स्यात् । परंपरयैकशरीरावयवान्वयेन सपिण्ड्ये
यथा नातिप्रसङ्गस्तथापि तत्र मिताक्षरायामुक्तम् । व्यवहाराध्याये च ११७
श्लोके 'मातृदुहितरः शेषमृणात' इत्यत्र 'युक्तं चैतत् । पुमान् पुंसोऽधिके
शुके स्त्री भवत्याधिके स्त्रियाः ।' इति स्वययवानां दुहितृषु बाहुल्यात् स्त्री-
धनं दुहितृगामि । पितृधनं पुत्रगामि पित्रवयवानां पुत्रेषु बाहुल्यादिति । तत्र
च गौतमेन विशेषो दर्शितः । 'स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणामप्रत्तानामप्रतिष्ठितानां च'
इति । अस्यार्थः—प्रत्ताप्रत्तासमवायेऽप्रत्तानामेव स्त्रीधनम् । प्रत्तासु चाप्रति-
ष्ठिताप्रतिष्ठितासमवायेऽप्रतिष्ठितानामेवेति । अप्रतिष्ठिताः—निर्धनाः । इति
मिताक्षरा ।

अथ च दायभागः । चतुर्थेऽध्याये—किं तूक्तादेव हेतोः पुत्रकुमारी-
दुहित्रोस्तुल्यवदधिकारः । एतयोश्चान्यतराभावेऽन्यतरस्य तद्धनं द्वयो-
रप्येतयोरभावे तूदाया दुहितुः पुत्रवत्याः संभावेतपुत्रायाश्च तुल्योऽधिकारः
स्वपुत्रद्वारेण पार्ष्णपिण्डदानसंभवात् । अत एव पूर्वोक्तदुहितृभावे दौहित्र-
स्यैव धनाधिकारः । 'दौहित्रोऽपि ह्यमुत्रैनं संतारयति पौत्रवत् । ९।१३९ इति
मनुवचनात्, न तु वन्ध्याविधवादुहित्रोः स्वसत्तया स्वजन्यसत्तया च
पार्ष्णपिण्डदानाभावात् । अत एव नारदः—

पुत्राभावे च दुहिता तुल्यसन्तानदर्शनात् । ना. १३-५०

अत एव मिताक्षरादायभागयोर्भेदः । सपिण्डेति पदं द्विधा व्याख्यातमुभाभ्यां
तेन द्विधा संप्रदायः प्रवृत्तस्तत्तद्ग्रन्थप्रामाण्यात्तद्विशेषे । दायभागस्य
वङ्गीयपण्डितकृतत्वात्तस्य तद्विशेषे प्रामाण्यम् । श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरस्य वाक्षिणा-
त्यत्वात् महाराष्ट्रादिषु प्राबल्यम् । गुर्जरादिषु पूर्वोक्तोभयग्रन्थकृतसदृशस्य
कस्यापि विदुषो ग्रन्थाभावाद् मिताक्षराया एव प्राबल्यम् । यद्यपि गुर्जर-

वङ्गेषु तत्तदग्रन्थप्रामाण्यं तथापि तद्भिन्नस्यापि प्रसङ्गविशेषात् प्रामाण्य-
माद्रियते । अन्येऽपि १ विवादताण्डव २ वीरमित्रोदय ३ व्यवहारमयूख ४
वृत्तकर्मीमांसा ५ संस्कारकौस्तुभ ६ दायतत्त्व ७ दायक्रमसंग्रह ८ विवादा-
र्णवसेतु ९ विवादभङ्गार्णव १० वृत्तकर्मीमांसा ११ विवादचिन्तामणि १२
स्मृतिचन्द्रिका १३ पराशरमाधवेतिग्रन्थाश्च तत्तद्देशेष्वद्रियन्ते ।

अथ दायविभागो व्यवहारमयूखाद्यनुसारेणोच्यते तथाहि— दयादि-
निर्णयोपयोगि स्वत्वम्—स्वामित्वम् । तच्च कयप्रतिग्रहादिजन्यः शक्तिविशेषः ।
तत्कारणता तु कयादीनां लोकव्यवहारादेव गम्यते न शास्त्रात् । तदनभि-
ज्ञानामपि तद्वर्जनात् । स्वामी रिक्थकयसंविभागपरिग्रहाधिगमेषु ब्राह्मण-
स्याधिकं लब्धं क्षत्रियस्य विजितं निर्विष्टं वैश्यशूद्रयोः । (गौ० ध० सू०
१०-३९-४२) इति तल्लोकसिद्धकारणानुवादकत्वेन गौतममतमपाकृतम् ।
स्वामिस्वत्वध्वंसमात्रेण यत् स्वस्य भवति तद् रिक्थमिति प्रयुज्यते लोकाः ।
पितरि जीवति, उत्पत्त्यैव पुत्रादयोऽर्थस्वामित्वं लभन्ते 'उत्पत्त्यैवार्थस्वामि-
त्वम्' इत्यादिवचनैस्तथा बोधनात् । तथा च—

भूर्या पितामहोपात्ता निबन्धो द्रव्यमेव च ।

तत्र स्यात्सदृशं स्वाम्यं पितुः पुत्रस्य चोभयोः ।

इति याज्ञवल्क्यः । 'पितर्युपरते पुत्रा विभज्युः' इति देवलवचनं तु विभाग-
कालपरं न स्वत्वनिषेधकं तत् । पितुर्मणिमुक्ताधारणे प्रभुत्वं तादृशं न
पुत्रादीनां तस्मिन्निवितीति बोधयितुं, स्थावरादिदाने तु पितुर्नाधिकारः । अतः
एवोक्तम्—

स्थावरं द्विपदं चैव यदपि स्वयमर्जितम् ।

असंभूय सुतान् सर्वान् न दानं न च विक्रयः ॥

इति । दानविक्रयादीनामेव निषेधो न भोगस्य । जेतुरपि वृषस्य सर्वभूदानं
नाधिकारः । अत एव मीमांसायां षष्ठेऽध्याये (६-७-३) सार्वभौमेन सर्वा
पृथ्वी माण्डलिकेन च मण्डलं देयमित्युक्तम् । संपूर्णपृथ्वीमण्डलस्य तत्ताद-
ग्रामक्षेत्रादौ स्वत्वं तु तत्तद्भौमिकादीनामेव । राज्ञां तु करग्रहणमात्रम् । अतः
एवेदानीं तनपारिभाषिकक्षेत्रदानादौ न भूदानासिद्धिः किंतु वृत्तिकल्पन-
मात्रमेव ।

दायपदस्य लक्षणम्—असंसृष्टं विभजनीयं धनं दायः । लाभाद्यर्थसंसृष्ट-
धनव्यावृत्तायेऽसंसृष्टमिति । अत एव वाणिगादिभिर्विभज्यमाने द्रव्ये न दाय-
पदप्रयोगः । स्मृतिसंग्रहे—

पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् ।

कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥

इति । निघण्टौ—

विभक्तव्यं पितृद्रव्यं दायमाहुर्मनीषिणः ।

पितृपदं संबन्धिमात्रोपलक्षणम् । अयं दायो द्विधा । सप्रतिबन्धाप्रतिबन्ध-
भेदेन । यत्र धनस्वामिनस्तत्पुत्रादेश्च जीवनं प्रतिबन्धकं स सप्रतिबन्धो यथा
पितृव्यादिधनम् । यत्तु स्वामिसंबन्धादेव पुत्रादेश्चनार्जनोपायान्तरनिरपेक्ष-
त्वात् स्वत्वं भवति सोऽप्रतिबन्धः । यथा पितृधनम् । तस्य विभागः--

विभागोऽर्थस्य पित्र्यस्य पुत्रैर्यत्र प्रकल्प्यते ।

दायभाग इति प्रोक्तं तद्विवादपदं बुधैः ॥

पुत्रैरिति पौत्रादीनामुपलक्षणम् । पित्र्यस्येति पितामहादीनाम् । द्रव्य-
सामान्याभावेऽपि त्वत्तोऽहं विभक्त इति व्यवस्थामात्रेणापि भवत्येव
विभागः । तस्यैव लक्षणम्--

बुद्धिविशेषमात्रमेव हि विभागः ।

तेन भोजनादिषु सामानाधिकरण्येऽपि न क्षतिः । मनुर्विभागकालमाह-

ऊर्ध्वं पितुश्च मातुश्च समेत्य भ्रातरः समम् ।

भजेरन् पैतृकं रिक्थमनीशास्ते हि जीवतोः ॥

चशब्दोपादानेऽपि मरणसमुच्चयो न विवक्षितः । मदनरत्ने स्मृतिसंग्रहे-

पितृद्रव्यविभागः स्याज्जीवन्त्यामपि मातरि ।

न स्वतन्त्रतया स्वाम्यं यस्मान्मातुः पतिं विना ॥

एतदपवदतो बृहस्पतिनारदौ-

बृहस्पतिः-

पित्रोरभावं भ्रातृणां विभागः संप्रदर्शितः ।

मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि जीवतोरपि शस्यते ॥

नारदः-

मातुर्निवृत्ते रजसि प्रत्तासु भगिनीषु च ।

निवृत्ते चापि रमणे पितर्युपरतस्पृहे ॥

प्रत्तासु भगिनीषु चेति काकाक्षिगोलकन्यायैर्नाभयत्र रजोरमणनिवृत्त्योः
संबध्यते । ततश्चेदं सिद्धम्- ऊर्ध्वं पितुः पुत्रा रिक्थं विभजेरन् । निवृत्ते
रजसि मातुर्जीवति पितरि चेच्छतीति । क्वचित्पितुरिच्छां विनाऽपि विभागः ।
बृहस्पतिः-

क्रमागते गृहक्षेत्रे पितापुत्राः समांशिनः ।

पैतृके न विभागार्हाः सुताः पितुरनिच्छया ॥

अर्थात् पितामहाद्यजिते पितुरनिच्छयापि विभागः । क्वचित् पितुरिच्छयापि
पैतामहद्रव्यस्य विभागमाह तुर्मनुविष्णुः । अकामे पितरि व्याध्यादिना चा-
समर्थेऽन्यथाशास्त्रकारिणि च ज्येष्ठभ्रातृसंमत्या विभागो भवति । हारीतः-
कामं वृत्तिं प्रोषिते आर्तं गते वा ज्येष्ठोऽर्थान्श्चिन्तयेत् । शङ्खलिखितमतेन
ज्येष्ठानुमत्या कार्यज्ञो ज्येष्ठानन्तरजोऽपि चिन्तयेदर्थान् । सर्वेषां तथात्वे

त्वनियमः । याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वे पुत्राः समांशिनः कर्तव्या ज्येष्ठो वा विशिष्टां-
शन संभावनीय इत्युक्तम् । अत्रैवेच्छा नियामिका नाव्यवस्थाकरणे ।

‘विभागं चेत् पिता कुर्यादिच्छया विभजेत्सुतान् ।

ज्येष्ठं वा श्रेष्ठभागेन सर्वे वा स्युः समांशिनः ॥

यदि पूर्वोक्तव्यवस्था नेष्येत तर्हि एकस्मै लक्षं कस्मैचित् कपर्दिकां, अन्यस्मै
न किमपि दातव्यमित्यवस्थापत्तिः । मनुना ज्येष्ठविभागे नवमाध्याये
विशेष उक्तः—

ज्येष्ठस्य विंश उद्धारः सर्वद्रव्याश्च यद्वरम् ।

तदर्धं मध्यमस्य स्यात्तदर्धं तु कनीयसः ॥

उद्धारोऽनुदधृते त्वेषामियं स्यादंशकल्पना ।

एकाधिकं हरज्ज्येष्ठः पुत्रोऽध्यर्धं ततोऽपरः ॥

अंशमंशं यवीयांस इति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ।”

यमलयोर्मध्ये प्रथमप्रसूतस्य ज्येष्ठ्यमाह मनुः—

जन्मज्येष्ठेन चाह्वानं सुब्रह्मण्यास्त्विति स्मृतम् ।

यमयोश्चैव संज्ञासु जन्मतो ज्येष्ठता मता ॥

यस्य जातस्य यमयोः पश्यन्ति प्रथमं मुखम् ।

संतानः पितरश्चैव तस्मिञ्ज्येष्ठ्यं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

इति । यत्तु पिण्डसिद्ध्यादिवैद्यकग्रन्थेष्वनन्तरप्रसूतस्य ज्येष्ठ्यमुक्तं तद-
नेन कार्यांशे बाध्यते । तस्याश्रुतिमूलत्वात् । मासेन शुद्धीभवतीतिवत् ।

यत्तु—

द्वौ तदा भवतो गर्भौ स्तिवेंशविपर्ययात् ।

इत्यादिना भागवतं पश्चाज्जातस्य ज्येष्ठ्यमुक्तं तदप्यनेन बाध्यते । पुराणेषु
स्मृतिविरुद्धाचाराणां बहुशो दर्शनात् । देशाचारतो व्यवस्था ज्ञेयेति केचित् ।
युक्तं तु पूर्वोक्तमेव । अयं च विशिष्टविभागः कलौ नेष्टः । कलिवर्ज्येषु पाठात् ।
पितुरिच्छानुसारं समविषमद्रव्यात्मको विभाग इति नारद वचनं—

‘पित्रैव तु विभक्ता ये समन्यूनाधिकैर्धनैः ।

तेषां स एव धर्मः स्यात् सर्वस्य हि पिता प्रभुः ।’

इति युगान्तरपरम् । यदि पुत्राणां विभागः क्रियते । तदा पत्न्योऽपि समां-
शकाः कर्तव्याः—

‘यदि कुर्यात्समानंशान् पत्न्यः कार्याः समांशिकाः ।

न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यासां भर्त्रा वा श्वशुरेण वा ॥

यदि स्त्रीधनत्वेनार्धं दत्तं तर्हि पुत्रैः समांशभाक्त्वं पत्न्या यथा भवति तथा
वर्तितव्यम् । अधिकधनं तु न देयम् । ‘शक्तस्यानीहमानस्य किञ्चिद् दत्त्वा
प्रतिक्रिया’ इति याज्ञवल्कीयात् अर्जनसमर्थस्य पितृद्रव्यमनिष्ठतः पुत्रस्य

किञ्चिद्धानेन पृथक्क्रिया कर्तव्या । पितृमरणानन्तरं तु समविभाग एव ।
समानो मृते पितरि रिक्थभाग इति हारीतः । अधना जननी पुत्रसमान-
भागा कर्तव्या । सापन्नमातुः पितामह्याश्चांशमाह व्यासः—

असुताश्च पितुः पत्न्यः समानांशाः प्रकीर्तिताः ।

पितामहश्च ताः सर्वा मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

सर्वा इत्यन्येन पितामहीसपत्न्योऽपि गृह्यन्ते । पितृपत्न्यः सर्वा मातरः ।
तत्सुताः सर्वे भ्रातरः । तत्स्वसारो भगिन्य इति वचनात् । तदेतद्वचनं दाय-
भागपरं न मातुलगोत्रवर्जनादावुपयोगि ।

अनंकपितृकाणां पितृतो भागकल्पनेति याज्ञवल्क्यवचसाऽनेकभ्रातृ-
पुत्राणां पितृतो भागकल्पना कर्तव्या । प्रपौत्रपुत्रादिः पितृपितामहप्रपिता-
महेषु मृतेष्वनन्तरं वृद्धप्रपितामहं मृतेऽन्यस्मिंश्च तत्पुत्रादिके जीवति तद्धनं
न लभते । पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रसामान्याभावे सोऽपि लभत एवेत्यर्थः ।

अविभक्तविभक्तानां कुल्यानां वसतां सह ।

भूयो दायविभागः स्यादाचतुर्थादिति स्थितिः ॥

इति देवलोक्तेः । इदं तद्देशजविषय उक्तम् । देशान्तरस्थस्तु पञ्चमादिरपि
लभते ।

तृतीयः पञ्चमश्चैव सप्तमश्चापि यो भवेत् ।

जन्मनामपरिज्ञाने लभेतांशं क्रमागतम् ॥

इति देशान्तरप्रक्रमेण बृहस्पतिः । क्वचिन्मातृतां विभागमाह बृहस्पतिः—

यद्येकजाता बहवः समाना जातिसंख्या ।

सापत्न्यास्तौर्भिभक्तव्यं मातृभागेन धर्मतः ॥

व्यासः—

समानजातिसंख्या ये जातास्त्वेकेन सूनवः ।

विभिन्नमातृकास्त्वेषां मातृभागः प्रशस्यते ॥

अयं मातृसमानो विभागो याज्ञवल्क्येनानुमत इति प्रतीयते । 'पुत्राजिष्यन्
वा अरेऽहमस्मि । अनया कात्यायन्यान्तं तं करवाणि' इति बृहदारण्यकोक्तेः ।
विजातीयविभागमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

चतुस्त्रिद्व्येकभागाः स्युः क्रमशो ब्राह्मणात्मजाः ।

क्षत्रजास्त्रिद्व्येकभागाः विद्वजास्तु शोकभागिनः ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

न प्रतिग्रहभूदेया क्षत्रियादिसुताय वै ।

यद्यप्येषां पिता दद्यान्मृते विप्रासुतो हरेत् ॥

देवलः—

शूद्रां द्विजातिभिर्जातो न भूमेर्भागमर्हति ।

सजातावाप्नुयात्सर्वमिति धर्मो व्यवस्थितः ॥

अपरिणीतशूद्रापुत्रस्तु द्रव्यांशमपि न लभते । तथा च मनुः—

ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविशां शूद्रापुत्रो न रिक्थभाक् ।

यदेवास्य पिता दद्यात्तदेवास्य धनं भवेत् ॥

पितृमरणोत्तरं विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

अनपत्यस्य शुश्रूषुर्गुणवान् शूद्रयोनिजः ।

लभेत जीवनं शेषं सापिण्डाः सममाप्नुयुः ॥

शूद्रापुत्रवत्प्रतिलोमास्त्विति गौतमधर्मसूत्रे । विभागानन्तरोत्पन्नपुत्रे विशेष-
माह गौतमः—विभक्तजः पित्र्यमेव । बृहस्पतिरपि—

“पुत्रैः सह विभक्तेन पित्रा यत्स्वयमर्जितम् ।

विभक्तजस्य तत्सर्वमनीशाः पूर्वजाः स्मृताः ॥

यथा धने तथर्णे च दानाधानक्रयेषु च ।

परस्परमनीशास्ते मुक्त्वाऽशौचादिकक्रियाम् ॥

केवलर्णदानप्रसङ्गे तु विभक्तेभ्यो द्रव्यं गृहीत्वा ऋणं देयम् । पितृमरणोत्तरं
विभागकालेऽस्पृष्टगर्भायां मातरि तत्सपत्न्यां भ्रातृपत्न्यां वानन्तरसमुत्पन्ने
विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णायां विभागभाक् ।

विभागश्च सर्वेभ्रातृभिः स्वस्वांशात् किञ्चित् किञ्चिदुद्धृत्य यथा स्वांशसमो
भवाति तथा कार्यः । ‘पितृविभक्तविभागा अनन्तरोत्पन्नस्य विभागं दद्युः’

(आप० ध० सू०) तदंशेषु रेकसेकसहिते स एवाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

इत्याह तद्विभागः स्यादायव्ययविशोधितात् ।

पितृमरणोत्तरं विभागे विशेषमाह बृहस्पतिः—

असंस्कृता भ्रातरस्तु ये स्युस्तत्र यवीयसः ।

संस्कार्याः पूर्वजेनैव पैतृकान्मध्यकाद्धनात् ॥

भ्रातृग्रहणं भगिनीनामप्युपलक्षणम् ।

असंस्कृतास्तु यास्तत्र पैतृकादेव ता धनात् ।

संस्कार्या भ्रातृभिर्ज्यैष्ठैः कन्यकाश्च यथाविधि ॥

इति भगिनीसंस्कारे भ्रातृभिः स्वीयश्चतुर्थोऽंशो देयः प्रत्येकम् । दायग्रहण-
व्यवस्थोपयोगितया मुख्यगौणपुत्रव्यवस्थामाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

औरसो धर्मपत्नीजस्तत्सुतः पुत्रिकासुतः ।
 क्षेत्रजः क्षेत्रजातस्तु सगोत्रेणेतरेण वा ॥
 गृहे प्रच्छन्न उत्पन्नो गृहजस्तु सुतः स्मृतः ।
 कानीनः कन्यकाजातो मानामहसुतो मतः ॥
 अक्षतायां क्षतायां वा जातः पौनर्मवः स्मृतः ।
 दद्यान्माता पिता वा यं स पुत्रो दत्तको भवेत् ॥
 कीर्तश्च ताभ्यां विक्रीतः कृत्रिमः स्यात्स्वयं कृतः ।
 दत्तात्मा तु स्वयंदत्तो गर्भे विन्नः सहोदजः ।
 उत्पृष्टो गृह्यते यस्तु सोऽपविद्धो भवेत्सुतः ॥

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एवं द्वादश पुत्राः । पुत्रिकापुत्रो द्विधा । तत्र प्रथमः—

अभ्रातृकां प्रदास्यामि तुभ्यं कन्यामलंकृताम् ।

अस्यां यो जायते पुत्रः स मे पुत्रो भविष्यति ॥

इति । द्वितीयश्च—द्वितीयः पुत्रिकैवेति वसिष्ठधर्मसूत्रम् । अस्मिन् पक्षे कन्य-
 यैवौर्ध्वदेहिकं कार्यम् । अत्र दत्तकभिन्ना गोणाः पुत्राः कलौ वज्र्याः । 'दत्तौ-
 रसेतरेषां तु पुत्रत्वेन प्रतिग्रहः' इति तस्मिन्नेधेषु पाठात् । पुनर्विभागमाह मनुः—

विभागे यत्र संदेहो दायादानां परस्परम् ।

पुनर्विभागः कर्तव्यः पृथक्स्थानस्थितैरपि ॥

विभक्तकृत्यमाह नारदः—

यथेकजाता बहवः पृथग्धर्माः पृथक्क्रियाः ।

पृथक्कर्मगुणोपेता न चेत्कार्येषु संमताः ॥

स्वभावाद्यदि दृश्यते विक्रीणीयुरथापि वा ।

कुर्युर्यथेष्टं तत्सर्वमीशास्ते स्वधनस्य वै ॥

इति । पञ्चमहायज्ञादयो धर्माः । ते विभक्ताः परस्परानुमितिं विनापि दान-
 विक्रयादि कुर्युरित्यर्थः ।

अविभक्ता विभक्ता वा दायादाः स्थावरे समाः ।

एको ह्यनीशः सर्वत्र दानाधमनविक्रये ॥

इति । यद् बृहस्पतिमतं तद् द्रव्यांशे विभक्तानामप्यविभक्तक्षेत्राद्युत्पन्नस-
 स्यादिदानादावनुमतिं विनाधिकारप्रतिषेधार्थमिति मदनः । विभक्ताविभक्त-
 संवेहनिरासार्थं विभक्तानुज्ञया व्यवहारसौकर्यार्थमिति विज्ञानेश्वरादयः ।
 स्वेच्छया विभक्तं पुनश्च चिवदमानं प्रत्याह स एव बृहस्पतिः—

स्वेच्छाकृतविभागो यः पुनरेव विसंवदेत् ।

स राज्ञांशे स्वके स्थाप्यः शासनीयोऽनुबन्धकृत् ॥

अनुबन्धः—निबन्धः ।

इत्यप्रतिबन्धो दायः ।

अथ सप्रतिबन्धदायविषय उच्यते—

तत्र विभक्तस्यासंमृष्टिनो धनग्रहणे क्रममाह—

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

पत्नी दुहितरश्चैव पितरौ भ्रातरस्तथा ।

तत्सुता गोत्रजा बन्धुशिष्यसत्रह्यचारिणः ॥

एषामभावे पूर्वस्य धनभागुत्तरोत्तरः ।

स्वर्गातस्य ह्यपुत्रस्य सर्ववर्णेष्वयं विधिः ॥

—अ० २ श्लो० १३५-१३६

पत्न्या अपुत्रविभक्तासंमृष्टपतिस्वापतेयग्रहणे प्रथमाधिकारप्रतिपादकान्य-
पराणि भूयांसि स्मृतिवचनानि । तत्र बृहस्पतिः—

आम्नाये स्मृतितन्त्रे च लोकाचारे च सूरिभिः ।

शरीरार्थं स्मृता जाया पुण्यापुण्यफले समा ॥

यस्य नोपरता भार्या देहार्थं तस्य जीवति ।

जीवत्यर्धशरीरेऽर्थं कथमन्यः समाप्नुयात् ॥

सकुल्यैर्विधमानैस्तु पितृमातृसनाभिभिः ।

अपुत्रस्य प्रमत्तस्य पत्नी तज्जागहारिणी ॥

इति । योगश्वरोऽपि पूर्वाभावे पराधिकारं वदन् सर्वप्राथम्येन पत्न्या एवा-
धिकारमभिधत्ते । विष्णुरपि—(अपुत्रधनं पत्न्यभिगामि, तदभावे दुहितृगामि,
तदभावे पितृगामि, तदभावे मातृगामि, तदभावे भ्रातृगामि, तदभावे भ्रातृ-
पुत्रगामि, तदभावे बन्धुगामि, तदभावे सकुल्यगामि, तदभावे शिष्यगामि,
तदभावे सहाध्यायिगामि, तदभावे ब्राह्मणधनवर्जं राजगामीति । बन्धुरत्र
सपिण्डः । सकुल्यः सगोत्रः । बन्धुपदेन वक्ष्यमाणपितृबन्ध्वादिग्रहणे योगी-
श्वरोक्तक्रमविरोधापत्तेः । स्त्रीविषये तात्त्विकीं व्यवस्थामाह कात्यायनः—

भोक्तुमर्हति क्लृप्तांशं गुरुशुश्रूषणे रता ।

न कुर्याद्यदि शुश्रूषां चैलं पिण्डं नियोजयेत् ॥

इति । गुरुः श्वशुरादिः । तदिच्छायांशभाक्त्वमन्यथा ग्रासाच्छादनमात्र-
मित्यर्थः । शङ्कितव्यभिचारायाः अपि भरणमात्रमेव ।

‘विधवा यौवनस्था चेन्नारी भवति कर्कशा ।

आयुषः क्षपणार्थं तु दातव्यं जीवनं तदा ॥

इति हारीतः । कर्कशा—‘शङ्कितव्यभिचारा’ इति मिताक्षरा । तत्सिद्धं
संयता पत्नी धनग्राहिणीति । अनेकास्तु ता विभज्य गृहीयुः । यत्तु
‘तस्मात् स्त्रियोऽनिन्द्रिया अदायादाः’ इति श्रुतिवचनं तन्मूलकं च निरि-
न्द्रिया ह्यदायादाः स्त्रियो नित्यामिति स्थितिः । (मनु० ९-१८) इति मनु-

वचनं तद् द्वयमपि यासां शृङ्गमाहिकया धनं नोक्तं तद्विषयमवसेयम् । तस्या
अभावे दुहिता । अत एव मनुः-

यथैवात्मा तथा पुत्रः पुत्रेण दुहिता समा ।

तस्यामात्मनि तिष्ठन्त्यां कथमन्यो धनं हरेत् ॥

दुहितरोऽनेकाश्चेद्विभज्य गृहीयुः । तत्रापि ऊढानूढयोरनूढैव ।

पत्नी भर्तुर्धनहरी या स्यादव्यभिचारिणी ।

तदभावे तु दुहिता यद्यनूढा भवेत्तदा ॥

इति कात्यायन्यायात् । ऊढासु सधनानिर्धनयोर्निर्धनैव लभेत् । स्त्रीधनं

दुहितृणामप्रत्तानां, अप्रतिष्ठितानां चेति गौतमोक्तेः (गौ. ध. सू. २८-२९)।

अप्रतिष्ठिताः-निर्धनाः । स्त्रीपदं पितुरप्युपलक्षणम् । इति साम्प्रदायिकाः ।

अत्र साम्प्रदायिकपदेन श्रीविज्ञानेश्वरग्रहणम् ।

चतुर्थव्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

पञ्चमं व्याख्यानम् ।

स्मृतिनिबन्धगतदायभागयोस्तारतम्यम् ।

दुहितृभावे दौहित्रः—

अपुत्रपौत्रसन्ताने दौहित्रा धनमाप्नुयुः ।

पूर्वेषां तु स्वधाकारे पौत्रा दौहित्रका मताः ॥

इति विष्णुक्तं : । दौहित्राभावे पिता, तदभावे माता । अत्र विज्ञानेश्वरः *पितरा-
वित्येकशेषविग्रहे माता च पिता च पितरौ' इति, अत्र मातुः पूर्वनिवेशात्
पूर्वं माता तदनन्तरं पितेति कममाह परं तत् कात्यायनवचोविरुद्धं तत्रैक-
शेषसमासां नास्ति पिता मातेत्यसमस्ते पदे । तथा च कात्यायनः—

अपुत्रस्यास्य कुलजा पत्नी दुहितरोऽपि वा ।

तदभावे पिता माता भ्राता पुत्राः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

भ्रातृभावं सोदरो भ्राता, तदभावे तत्पुत्रः । यत्तु विज्ञानेश्वरादयो भिक्षो-
दराः सोदराभावे ग्राह्याः, तदभावे सोदरसुता इत्याहुस्तत्र भ्रातृपदस्य
सोदरे शक्त्या भिक्षोदरे च गौण्या वृत्तिद्वयविरोधात् । सोदरत्वेन धन-
सम्बन्धवता पितृध्येण सहेतरभ्रातृपुत्राः समांशं लभेरन् । भ्रातृपुत्राभावं
गात्रजाः सापिण्डाः । तत्राप्यादौ पितामही ।

मातर्यपि च वृत्तायां पितुर्माता हरेद्धनम् ।

इति मनूक्तेः । यद्यपीयं भ्रातृरनन्तरं श्रुता तथादि बद्धक्रमभ्रातृपुत्रान्तेषु मध्ये
निवेशायोगादागन्तूनामन्ते निवेश इतिवत् भ्रातृपुत्रान्ते निवेश्या ।

तदभावे भगिनी ।

अनन्तरः सापिण्डाद्यस्तस्य तस्य धनं भवंत् ।

इति मनूक्तं ।

बहवो ज्ञातयो यत्र सकुल्या बान्धवास्तथा ।

यस्त्वासन्नतरस्तेषां सोऽनपत्यधनं हरेत् ॥

इति बृहस्पत्युक्तेः । तस्यां अपि भ्रातृगोत्र उत्पन्नत्वेन गोत्रजत्वाविशेषाच्च ।

* अत्र जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागे— पितरावित्यत्र पितृक्रम एवावगम्यते । तथा हि पितृ-
पदात् प्रातिपदिकात् प्रथमं पितृवगतेः पश्चात्तु द्विवचनबलेन एकशेषकल्पनया भ्रातृव-
गमात् । अत्र धर्मिन्त्रोदयकृतोभयोरपि स्रण्डनं कृतं सोऽपालम्भो वाग्विसर्गश्च कृतः । माता-
पित्रोर्गुणवद्गुणवत्त्वापेक्षया व्यवस्था तेन विकल्प इति वीरमित्रोदयसिद्धान्तः ।

सगोत्रता परं नास्ति । तदभावे पितामहसपत्नभ्रातरौ विभज्य गृहीतः । स्वजनकजनकत्वेन स्वजनकजन्यत्वेन च समानप्रत्यासत्तः । प्रत्यासत्ति-
साम्ये पाठकमाद्यणुविशेषान्तराभावे चान्यत्राप्येवमेव । तेन तयोरभावे
प्रपितामहपितृव्यभिक्षोदरभ्रातृपुत्रा विभज्य गृहीयुः सर्वसपिण्डाः समानो-
क्ताश्च प्रत्यासत्तिक्रमेण । तांश्चाह मनुः—

सपिण्डता तु पुरुषे सप्तमे विनिवर्तते ।

समानोदकभावस्तु जन्मनाम्नोरवदने ॥

इति सप्तमेऽर्तत इत्यर्थः । सादकाभावे बन्धवः । ते च स्मृत्यन्तरे । ते नव-
१ आत्मपितृष्वसृपुत्रः । २ आत्ममातृष्वसृपुत्रः । ३ आत्ममातुलपुत्रः । ४
पितुः पितृष्वसृपुत्रः । ५ तन्मातृष्वसृपुत्रः । ६ तन्मातुलपुत्रः । ७ मातुः मातृ-
ष्वसृपुत्रः । ८ तत्पितृष्वसृपुत्रः । ९ तन्मातुलपुत्रः ।

बन्धूनामभाव आचार्यः । तदभावे शिष्यः । पुत्राभावं प्रत्यासन्नः स-
पिण्डस्तदभाव आचार्यस्तदभावेऽन्तेवासी (आप० ध० सू० २-६-१४) ।
शिष्याभावे सहाध्यायी, तदभावे श्रोत्रियः । 'श्रोत्रिया ब्राह्मणस्यानपत्यस्य
रिक्थं भजेरन्' इति गौतमांक्तेः । तदभावेऽन्यो ब्राह्मणः ।

सर्वेषामप्यभावे तु ब्राह्मणा रिक्थभागिनः ।

त्रैविद्याः शुचयो दान्तास्तथा धर्मो न ह्यिते ॥

इति कात्यायनीयात् । नारदश्च—

सर्वत्रादायिकं राजा हरेद ब्रह्मस्ववर्जितम् ।

अदायिकं तु ब्रह्मस्वं श्रोत्रियेभ्यः प्रदापयेत् ॥

बृहस्पतिः—

येऽपुत्राः क्षत्रविदः शूद्राः पत्नीभ्रातृविवर्जिताः ।

तेषां धनहरो राजा सर्वस्यापि पतिर्हि सः ॥

वानप्रस्थस्य तावत्—

अहो मासस्य षण्णां वा तथा संवत्सरस्य वा ।

अर्थस्य निचयं कुर्यात् कृतमाश्वयुजे त्यजेत् ॥

इति वचनाद्धनसम्बन्धोऽस्त्येव । यतेरपि 'कौपीनाच्छादनार्थं वा वासोऽपि
विभूयाच्च यः । योगसंभारभेदांश्च गृह्णीयात् पादुके तथा' इति वचनान्
वस्त्रपुस्तकसंबन्धोऽस्त्येव नैष्ठिकस्यापि शरीरयात्रार्थं वस्त्रादिसंबन्धोऽस्त्ये-
वेति तद्विभागकथनं युक्तमेव । —इति मिताक्षरा । यत्यादे रिक्थविषयं
याज्ञवल्क्यः—

वानप्रस्थयतिब्रह्मचारिणां रिक्थभागिनः ।

क्रमेणाचार्यस्तच्छिष्यधर्मभ्रात्रेकतीर्थिनः ॥

ब्रह्मचारी नैष्ठिकः । उपकुर्वाणस्य तु पित्रादय एव । धर्मभ्राता प्रतिपक्षो

भ्राता । एकतीर्थः— एकाश्रमी । आचार्यादीनां प्रातिलोभ्येन कम इति विज्ञानेश्वरः । वनस्थस्य धनमाचार्यो गृह्णीत शिष्यो वा (वि० ध० १५-१५) इति विष्णुक्तेरानुलोभ्येनेति मदनः । मृतस्य रिक्थहारिणा येन केनापि राजपर्यन्तेनौर्ध्वदेहिकं दशाहान्तं कार्यम् । तथा च विष्णुः—यश्चार्थहरः स पिण्डदायी स्मृतः । इति ।

अथ संसृष्टिनिर्णयः ।

तत्र संसर्गमाह—

विभक्तो यः पुनः पित्रा भ्रात्रा वैकत्र संस्थितः ।

पितृव्येणाथ वा प्रात्या स तत्संसृष्ट उच्यते ॥

अत्र पितृभ्रातृपितृव्येरेव सह संसृष्टता नान्येन वचनेऽनुपादानादिति मिताक्षरादिषु । विभागकर्तृसामानाधिकरण्येनैव सा इति युक्तम् । पित्रादिपदानि तु विभागकर्तृमात्रोपलक्षकानि । तेन पत्नीपितामहभ्रातृपौत्रपितृव्यपुत्रादिभिरपि सह संसृष्टता भवति । विभक्तो य एकत्र स्थितः स संसृष्ट इति सामानाधिकरण्याद्विभक्तभ्रात्राः पुत्रादीनां न संसर्गः । विद्यमानं भावि वा धनमावयोः पुनर्विभागावाधि साधारणमित्याकारिका बुद्धिरिच्छा वा संसर्गः । तत्र संसृष्टिनां पुनर्विभागे विशेषमाह मनुः—

संसृष्टाः सह जीवन्तो विभजेरन् पुनर्यदि ।

समस्तत्र विभागः स्याज्ज्यैष्ठ्यं तत्र न विद्यते ॥

संसृष्टिनां द्रव्यन्यूनाधिकभावेऽपि सम एव विभागः समस्तत्रेत्यनेन बोधितत्वात् । आचारोऽप्येवम् । तेनाचारमूलकत्वेऽस्य वचसः संभवति तद्विरुद्धश्रुतिकल्पनमन्यायम् । व्यवहारशास्त्रस्य व्याकरणवत्प्रायेणाचारमूलकत्वाच्चेति तु परे ।

संसृष्टिनां तु यः कश्चिद्विद्याशौर्यादिभिर्धनम् ।

प्राप्नोति तस्य दातव्यो ह्यशः शेषाः समांशिनः ॥

इत्यनेन संसृष्टिविभागे संसृष्टधनविरोधेनाप्यर्जने भागद्वयम् । संसृष्टिधनहरणाधिकारिणमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

संसृष्टिनस्तु संसृष्टी सोदरस्य तु सोदरः ।

— अ० २ श्लो० १३८.

‘पत्नी दुहितरः’ इत्यस्यापवाद एवायम् । तेनायमर्थः—संसृष्टिधनहरणाधिकारितावच्छेदकं न पत्नीत्वादि किन्तु संसृष्टत्वमिति । विज्ञानेश्वरादिभिरुत्सर्गापवादयोः समविषयत्वनियमात् संसृष्टिसंनिहितपत्न्या-

द्विसंज्ञावेऽपि, अन्यः संसृष्ट्येव गृह्णीयादिति ताच्चिन्त्यम् । समानविषयत्वं तु न सर्वांशेऽपेक्ष्यते । किन्तु यथाकथञ्चिन्मृतसपिण्डविषयतया । असंसृष्टि-सोदरसंसृष्टिभिन्नोदरयोर्विभज्य धनग्रन्थमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

अन्योदर्यस्तु संसृष्टी नान्योदर्या धनं रेत् ।

असंसृष्ट्यपि चादद्यात्संसृष्टो नान्यमातृजः ॥

अत्रान्योदर्यान्यमातृजादेर्पदेन सापत्नो भ्रातृवाच्यते किंतु पितृव्यादिरपि योगाविशेषात् । तेनैकः संसृष्टत्वेन परः सोदरत्वेनेति द्वावपि विभज्य गृह्णीयातामिति निष्कर्षः । मनुः—

येषां ज्येष्ठः कनिष्ठो वा ह्यीयेतांशप्रदानतः ।

म्रियेतान्यतरो वापि तस्य भागो न लुप्यते ॥

सोदर्या विभजेयुस्तं समेत्य सहिताः समम् ।

भ्रातरो ये च संसृष्टा भगिन्यश्च सनाभयः ॥

ह्यीयेताश्रमगतिपातित्यादिना । अन्तर्धनादिविषये विशेषमाह प्रजापतिः—

अन्तर्धनं तु यद् द्रव्यं संसृष्टानां तु तद्भवेत् ।

भूमिं गृहं त्वसंसृष्टाः प्रगृह्णीयुर्यथांशतः ॥

अन्तर्धनं भूमिक्षेपादिना गोपितुं शक्यं सुवर्णरूप्यादि । संसृष्टो भिन्नोदरो गृह्णीयात् । भुवं तु सोदरभ्रातरः । गवाश्वादि तु सोदरासोदरभ्रातरः । संसृष्टिविषये शङ्खनारदयोर्मतम्—

भ्रातृणामप्रजाः प्रेयात् कश्चिच्चेत्प्रव्रजेत वा ।

विभजंरन् धनं तस्य शेषास्ते स्त्रीधनं विना ॥

भरणं चास्य कुर्वीरन् स्त्रीणामजीवनक्षयात् ।

रक्षन्ति शस्यां भर्तुश्चैवाच्छिन्युरितरास्तु तु ॥

या तस्य दुहिता तस्याः पित्रंशाद्धरणं मतम् ।

आसंस्काराद्धरेद्भागं परतो विभूयात् पतिः ॥

संसृष्टिमरणे तद्गीयासंसृष्टिभ्रात्रादीनां कमः । मदनेन तत्राप्यादौ माता ततः पिता, ज्येष्ठा संयता पत्नी तदभावे भगिनी दुहिता वा । दुहितृभगिन्योरभावेऽनन्तरः सपिण्डः । इति ।

दायभागे जीमूतवाहनकृते (९७ पत्रे कलिकातामुद्धिते) तत्र मनुना—
त्रयाणामुदकं कार्यं त्रिषु पिण्डः प्रवर्तते' इति ९-१८६ दायभागप्रकरणे कीर्तनात्, याज्ञवल्क्येनापि 'पिण्डदोऽशहरश्चैषाम्' । २-१३३ इति पिण्डदानेनाधिकारदर्शनात्पुत्रस्यापि सातिशयपिण्डदानेन नरकत्राणकारणतया मुख्यभावेनाधिकारवगतेः—

मातुलो भगिनेयस्य स्वस्त्रीयो मातुलस्य च ।

श्वशुरस्य गुरोश्चैव सख्युर्मर्तामहस्य च ॥

एतेषां चैव भार्याभ्यः स्वसुर्मातुः पितुस्तथा ।

श्राद्धदानं तु कर्तव्यमिति वेदविदां स्थितिः ॥

इति वृद्धशातातपवचनात् । अमीषां पिण्डदत्त्वप्रतिपादनादयं पिण्डदान-
विशेषादधिकारिक्रमः । तत्र प्रथमं देवरः, तत्पिण्डतद्भर्तृपिण्डतद्भर्तृदेयपूर्व-
पुरुषत्रयपिण्डदातृत्वात् सापिण्डत्वाच्च तद्धनेऽधिक्रियते । तदभावे भ्रातृ-
श्वशुरदेवरयोः सुतः तत्पिण्डतद्भर्तृपिण्डतद्भर्तृदेयपूर्वपुरुषत्रयपिण्डदातृ-
त्वात् सापिण्डत्वाच्च पितृव्यस्त्रीधनेऽधिकारी । तदभावे त्वसपिण्डोऽपि
भगिनीपुत्रः । तत्पिण्डतत्पुत्रदेयतत्पित्रादिपिण्डत्रयदानात् मातृस्वसृधनेऽ-
धिकारी । तदभावे स्वभर्तृभागिनेयः पुत्राद् भर्तृकुलत्वात् तत्स्थानपाति-
नोरपि तथैव बलाबलस्य न्याय्यत्वात् तद्भर्तृदेयपूर्वपुरुषत्रयपिण्डदानात्
तात्पिण्डदानात् तद्भर्तृपिण्डदानाच्च मातुलानीधनेऽधिकारी । तदभावे
भ्रातृसुतः तत्पितृपितामहयोस्तस्याश्च पिण्डदानात् पितृस्वसृधनेऽधिकारी ।
तस्याप्यभावे श्वशुरयोः पिण्डदानाजामाता श्वश्रुधनेऽधिकारीति ।

जीमूतवाहनकृतदायभागश्रीकृष्णतर्कालंकारव्याख्यायामेकादशे पद्यपरि-
च्छेदे—अत्रायं मृतपुंघनाधिकारिक्रमः । तत्र प्रथमं पुत्रः, तदभावे पौत्रः,
तदभावे प्रपौत्रः, मृतपितृकपौत्रः, - मृतपितृपितामहकप्रपौत्रयोस्तु पुत्रेण सह
युगपदधिकारः । प्रपौत्रपर्यन्ताभावे पत्नी । सा च प्राप्तभर्तृदाया भर्तृकुलं
तदभावे पितृकुलं वा समाश्रिता सती शरीररक्षार्थं भर्तृदायं भुङ्गीति तथा
भर्तृरूपकारार्थं यथाकथंचिद् दानादिकमपि कुर्वीत न तु स्त्रीधनवत्
स्वच्छन्दं विनियुङ्गीति । तदभावे दुहिता, तत्र प्रथमं कुमारी, तदभावे
वाग्दत्ता, तदभावे ऊढा सा च पुत्रवती संभावितपुत्रा च द्वे युगपदेवाधि-
कारिण्यौ, वन्ध्या पुत्रहीना विधवा च नाधिकारिणी । ऊढाया अभावे दौ-
हित्रः, तदभावे पिता, तदभावे माता, तदभावे भ्राता तत्रापि प्रथमं सोदरः
तदभावे वैमात्रेयः, मृतस्य भ्रातृसंसृष्टे तु सोदरमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टसोदर-
ण्याधिकारी तदभावे चासंसृष्टसोदरः । एवं वैमात्रेयमात्रविषये प्रथमं सं-
सृष्टवैमात्रेयः, तदभावे चासंसृष्टवैमात्रेयः । यदा तु संसृष्टो वैमात्रेयः, सोदर-
श्चासंसृष्टस्तदा तावुभौ तुल्यवदधिकारिणौ । भ्रातृणामभावे भ्रातृपुत्रः ।
तत्रापि प्रथमं सोदरभ्रातृपुत्रः, तदभावे वैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, संसर्गे तु सोदर-
भ्रातृपुत्रमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टसोदरभ्रातृपुत्रः, तदभावे चासंसृष्टसोदर-
भ्रातृपुत्रः । वैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रमात्रविषये प्रथमं संसृष्टवैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, तद-
भावे चासंसृष्टवैमात्रेयभ्रातृपुत्रः, यदा तु सोदरभ्रातृपुत्रोऽसंसृष्टो वैमात्रेय-
भ्रातृपुत्रश्च संसृष्टः तदा द्वौ भ्रातृवत्तुल्यधिकारिणौ । भ्रातृपुत्राभावे भ्रातृ-
पौत्रः तत्रापि भ्रातुः सोदरासोदरक्रमः संसर्गासंसर्गक्रमश्च बोध्यः । तद-
भावे पितृदौहित्रः स च सोदरभगिनीपुत्रः, वैमात्रेयभगिनीपुत्रः, तदभावे

पितामहः, तदभावे पितामही, तदभावे पितुः सहोदरः, तदभावे पितुर्वैमा-
त्रेयः, तदभावे पितृसोदरपुत्रपितृवैमात्रेयपुत्रपितृसोदरपौत्रपितृवैमात्रेयपौ-
त्राणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे पितामहदौहित्रः, तत्रापि पितृसोदरभगिनी-
पुत्रः, तदभावे पितृवैमात्रेयभगिनीपुत्रश्च वक्ष्यमाणप्रपितामहदौहित्राधि-
कारेऽप्येवं, तदभावे प्रपितामहः, तदभावे प्रपितामही, तदभावे पितामह-
सहोदरभ्रातृतद्वैमात्रेयभ्रातृतत्पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रप्रपितामहदौहित्राः क्रमेणाधि-
कारिणः । एतावत्पर्यन्तानां धनिभोग्यपिण्डदानाणामभावे धनिदेयपिण्ड-
दानाणां मातामहमातुलादीनामधिकारः । तत्र प्रथमं मातामहस्तदभावे
मातुलतत्पुत्रपौत्राणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे चाधस्तनकुल्यानां धनि-
भोग्यलेपदानाणां प्रतिप्रणप्तृप्रभृतिपुरुषत्रयाणां क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे
पुनरुर्ध्वसकुल्यानां धनिदेयलेपभुक् वृद्धप्रपितामहादितत्संततनामासत्ति-
क्रमेणाधिकारः । तदभावे समानोदकानामधिकारः । तेषामभावे चाचार्यस्य
तदभावे शिष्यस्य तदभावे सन्नह्यचारिणोऽधिकारः । तदभावे चैकग्रामस्थ-
सगोत्रसमानप्रवरयोः क्रमेणाधिकारः । उक्तपर्यन्तानां सर्वेषां संबन्धि-
नामभावे ब्राह्मणधनधर्जं राजा गृह्णीयात् । ब्राह्मणधनं तु त्रैविद्यादिगुण-
युक्ता ब्राह्मणा गृह्णीयुः । एवं वानप्रस्थधनं भ्रातृत्वेनानुमतोऽपरवानप्रस्थ
एकतीर्थसेवी गृह्णीयात् । तथा यतिधनं सच्छिष्यः । नैष्ठिकब्रह्मचारिणो
धनमाचार्यः, उपकुर्वाणस्य तु ब्रह्मचारिणो धनं पित्रादिगृह्णीयादिति संक्षेपः॥

जीमूतवाहनदायभागस्यान्तिमश्लोकैरिदं ज्ञातुं शक्यं यन्निबन्धव्याख्या-
कृद्भिर्विपरिवर्तितः स्मृतीनामर्थो मया (जीमूतवाहनेन) तत्संवादाय प्रयत्नः
क्रियत इति ।

नाचार्यगौरवपराहतदायभाग-

तत्त्वप्रबोधजनरञ्जनमत्र शक्यम् ।

किंतु प्रमाणपरतन्त्राधियां मुनीनां

संवादमात्रकृतये कृतिनः प्रयत्नः ॥ १ ॥

बहुविधपूर्वनिबन्धव्याख्यासंजातसंशयस्यैतत् ॥

जीमूतवाहनकृतं प्रकरणमनुपपत्तये ध्येयम् ॥ २ ॥

पारिभद्रकुलोद्भूतः श्रीमान् जीमूतवाहनः ।

दायभागं चकारमं विदुषां संशयच्छिदे ॥ ३ ॥

इदानीमुक्तस्य दायस्यापवादमाह-

कृषिोऽथ पतितस्तज्जः पङ्कुन्मत्तको जडः ।

अन्धोऽचिकित्सरोग्याद्या मर्तव्याः स्युर्निरंशकाः ॥

इति याज्ञवल्कीयात् क्लीबादयो निरंशाः । आद्यशब्देनाश्रमान्तरगतपितृद्वेष्य-
पपातकिषधिरमूकनिरिन्द्रियाणां महणम् । तथा च नारदः —
पितृद्विदः पतितः षण्ढो यश्च स्यादौपपातिकः ।
औरसा अपि नैतैऽशं लभेरन् क्षेत्रजाः कुतः ॥

तथापि तेषां भरणं कर्तव्यम् ।

सर्वेषामपि तु भ्याय्यं दातुं शक्त्या मनीषिणा ।
ग्रासाच्छादनमत्यन्तं पतितो ह्यददद्भवेत् ॥

— मनु० ९ - २०२

इति मनुस्मरणात् । एतेषां विभागात्प्रागेव दोषप्राप्तौ अनंशत्वमुपपन्नं न
पुनर्विभक्तस्य । विभागोत्तरकालमर्प्याषधादिना दोषनिर्हरणे भागप्राप्ति-
रस्त्येव ।

विभक्तेषु सुतो जातः सवर्णार्यां विभागभाक् ।

इत्यस्य समानन्यायत्वात् । पतितादिषु पुंलिङ्गत्वमविवक्षितं तेन तादृश-
कन्यानामपि भरणं कर्तव्यम् । क्लीबादिपुत्रादयस्तु नानंशाः —

‘औरसाः क्षेत्रजास्त्वेषां निदांषा भागहारिणः ।’

औरसक्षेत्रजयोर्धृद्वणमितरव्युदासार्थम् । तथैव तदङ्गहितृणामपि भरणम् ।

सुताश्चैषां प्रभर्त्तव्या यावद्वै भर्तृसात्कृताः ।

तेषामव्यभिचारिपत्नीनां भरणं कर्तव्यम् —

अपुत्रा योषितश्चैषां भर्तव्याः साधुवृत्तयः ।

निर्वास्या व्याभिचारिण्यः प्रतिकूलास्तथैव च ॥

अथ स्त्रीधनम् —

अध्यग्न्यध्यावाह्निकं दत्तं च प्रीतिकर्मणि ।

भ्रातृमातृपितृप्राप्तं षड्विधं स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

इति मनुः । अत्रैव याज्ञवल्कीयमन्तर्भवति । मनूक्तौ षड्विधं न्यूनसंख्या-
व्यवच्छेदार्थम् । विष्णुश्चाधिकमाह —

‘पितृमातृसुतभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतमाधिवेदानिकं बन्धुवत्तं शुल्का-
न्याधायकम् । [वि. ध. १७-१८] । अध्यग्न्यादीन्याह कात्यायनः —

विवाहकाले यत्स्त्रिभ्यो दीयते त्वग्निसेनिधौ ।

तदध्यभिक्षुतं सद्भिः स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥

यत्पुनर्लभते नारी नीयमाना पितृगृहात् ।

अध्यावाह्निकं नाम स्त्रीधनं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

प्रीत्या दत्तं तु यत् किञ्चित् श्वश्रवा वा श्वशुरेण वा ।

पादवन्दनिकं चैव प्रीतिदत्तं तदुच्यते ॥
विवाहात् परतो यत्नं लब्धं भर्तृकुलात् स्त्रिया ।
अन्वाधेयं तु तत् प्रोक्तं यल्लब्धं स्वकुलात्तथा ॥
गृहोपस्करवाह्यानां दोहाभरणकर्मणाम् ।
मूल्यं लब्धं तु यत् किञ्चित् शुल्कं तत्परिकीर्तितम् ॥

गृहोपस्कराद्यलाभे तन्मूल्यं कन्यादानकाले कन्यायै दत्तं तच्छुल्कमित्यर्थः ।
आधिवेदनिकं याज्ञवल्क्येन लाक्षितम्—

अधिविज्ञस्त्रियै दद्यात् आधिवेदनिकं समम् ।
न दत्तं स्त्रीधनं यासां दत्ते त्वर्थं प्रकल्पयेत् ॥

वेवलः—

भग्नं प्रतिश्रुतं देयमृणवत् स्त्रीधनं सुतैः ।

कात्यायनः—

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृजातिभिः स्त्रीधनं स्त्रियै ।
यथाशक्त्या द्विसाहस्राद्वातव्यं स्थावरादृते ॥

स्थावरातिरिक्तं सहस्रद्वयपणावधि देयमिति मदनः । व्यासः—द्विसाहस्रः
परो दायः' इत्यादिना इदं द्विसहस्रावधिकं दानं प्रतिवर्षम् । अनेकवर्षेष्वि-
तोऽधिकमपि शक्तौ स्थावरमपि च देयमिति स एवाह । दायदवश्रनेन दत्ते
धारणमात्रार्थं दत्ते च भूषणादौ स्त्रीस्वत्वं नास्तीत्याह कात्यायनः—

तत्र सोपधि यद्वत्तं यच्च योगवशेन वा ।
पित्रा भ्रात्राथ पत्या वा न तत् स्त्रीधनमुच्यते ॥

शिल्पप्राप्ते पित्रादिभिन्नसख्यादिप्राप्तेऽपि स्त्रीधनत्वं नास्तीत्याह स एव—

प्राप्तं शिल्पैस्तु यत् किञ्चित् प्रीत्या चैव यदन्यतः ।
भर्तुः स्वाम्यं तदा तत्र शेषं तु स्त्रीधनं स्मृतम् ॥

शिल्पाध्यर्जितधनं स्त्रीभिः स्वतन्त्रतया न विभजनीयम् । अत एव मनुः—

न निर्हारं स्त्रियः कुर्युः कुटुम्बाद्बहुमध्यगात् ।
स्वकादपि च वित्ताद्धि स्वस्य भर्तुरनुज्ञया ॥

इति । निर्हारो व्ययः । कस्मिंश्चिद्धने स्वातन्त्र्यमाह कात्यायनः—

ऊढया कन्यया सार्धं पत्युः पतिगृहेऽथवा ।
भ्रातुः सकाशात् पित्रोर्वा लब्धं सौदायिकं स्मृतम् ॥
सौदायिकं धनं प्राप्य स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यमिष्यते ।
यस्मात्तद्वानुज्ञांस्यार्थं तैर्दत्तमुपजीवनम् ।

सौदायिकं सदा स्त्रीणां स्वातन्त्र्यं परिकीर्तितम् ।
 विक्रये चैव दाने च यथेष्टं स्थावरेष्वपि ॥
 भर्तृदत्ते स्थावरे तु न स्वातन्त्र्यम् ।
 भर्ता प्रीतिन यद्वत्तं स्त्रियै तस्मिन् मृतेऽपि तत् ।
 सा यथाकाममश्रीयाद्दद्याद्वा स्थावरादृते ॥

इति नारदाक्तः । भर्तृर्दानां स्त्रीधने स्वातन्त्र्याभावमाह स एव —

न भर्ता नैव च सुतो न पिता भ्रातरो न च ।
 आदाने वा विसर्गे वा स्त्रीधने प्रभविष्णवः ॥
 यदि त्वेकतरो ह्येषां स्त्रीधने भक्षयेद् बलात् ।
 सवृद्धिकं स दाप्यः स्याद्दण्डं चैव समाप्नुयात् ॥
 तदेव, यद्यनुज्ञाप्य भक्षयेत् प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ।
 मूलमेव स दाप्यः स्याद्यदा स धनवान् भवेत् ॥

मनुः—

जीवन्तानां तु तासां ये तद्धरयुः स्वबान्धवाः ।
 ताञ्च शिष्याञ्चौरदण्डेन धार्मिकः पृथिवीपतिः ॥
 पत्यां जीवति यः स्त्रीभिरलंकारो धृतो भवेत् ।
 न तं भजेरन् दायादा भजमानाः पतन्ति ते ॥

धृतः— भर्तृप्रभृतिवत्तस्तया धृतः । देवलः—

वृत्तिराभरणं शुल्कं लाभश्च स्त्रीधनं भवेत् ।
 भोक्ष्त्री च स्वयमेवेवं पतिर्नाहृत्यनापदि ।
 वृथा मोक्षे च भोगे च स्त्रियै दद्यात्सवृद्धिकम् ।
 पुत्रार्तिहरणे वापि स्त्रीधनं मोक्तुमर्हति ॥

वृत्तिर्जीवनार्थं पित्रादिवत्तं धनम् । लाभो वृद्धिः । मोक्षस्त्यागो दानम् । पुत्र-
 कुटुम्बोपलक्षकम् ।

याज्ञवल्क्यः—

दुर्भिक्षं धर्मकार्यं च व्याधां संप्रतिरोधके ।
 गृहीतं स्त्रीधनं भर्ता नाकामो दातुमर्हति ॥

अत्र भर्तृग्रहणात् तादृजेन दुर्भिक्षाद्यापद्यपि स्त्रीधनं न ग्राह्यमित्युक्तम् ।
 संप्रतिरोधकं—बन्धनम् । क्वचिदकामो दद्यादित्याह देवलः—

अथ चेत्स द्विभार्यः स्यान्न च तां भजते पुनः ।

प्रीत्या निस्सृष्टमपि च पतिर्दाप्यथ तदृष्यात् ॥
 आसाच्छादनवासानामाच्छेदो यत्र योषितः ।
 तत्र स्वमाददीत स्त्रीविभागं रिक्थिनस्तदा ॥
 रिक्थिनः सकाशात् । इदं साध्वीपरम् । स्त्रीमरणोत्तरमन्वाधेयाख्यतद्धन-
 ग्रहणेऽधिकारित्यवस्थामाह मनुः—

अन्वाधेयं च यद्वत्तं पत्या प्रीतेन चैव यत् ।
 पत्यौ जीवति वृत्तायाः प्रजायास्तद्धनं भवेत् ॥
 प्रजां विशिनाष्टि स एव ।

जनन्यां संस्थितायां तु समं सर्वे सहोदराः ।
 भजेरन मातृकं रिक्थं भगिन्यश्च सनाभयः ॥
 यत्र दुहित्राद्यभावेन पुत्राणामेव साहित्येनाधिकारः प्राप्तस्तत्र तत्साहित्यम् ।
 यत्र तु कन्यानामेवाधिकारः प्राप्तस्तत्र तत्साहित्यमनृद्यते । न तु कन्यापुत्रयोः
 परस्परमप्राप्तं साहित्यं विधीयते इति मिताक्षराशयः । परे त्वन्वाधेयभर्तृ-
 प्रीतिदत्तविषये कन्यापुत्रयोरपूर्वं साहित्यं विधीयत इत्याहुः । भगिनीषु
 विशेषमाह मनुः—

स्त्रीधनं स्यादपत्यानां दुहिता च तदंशिनी ।
 अप्रप्ता चेत्समूढा तु लभते मानमात्रकम् ॥
 तदंशिनी पुत्रसमांशिनी । अप्रप्ताभावे सधवानां मातृसमांशः ।
 भगिन्यां बान्धव्यः सार्धं विभजेरन् सभर्तृकाः ।

इति कात्यायनोक्तेः । दाहित्रीभ्योऽपि किञ्चिद्देयम् ।
 यास्तासां स्युर्दुहितरस्तासामपि यथार्हतः ।
 मातामह्या धनात् किञ्चित् प्रदेयं प्रीतिपूर्वकम् ॥
 इति मनुक्तं । यौतकं त्वनृदानामेव न पुत्राणाम् । तथा च मनुः—

मातुस्तु यौतकं यत् स्यात् कुमारीभाग एव सः ।
 यौतकं विवाहादिसमये पत्या सहैकासने प्राप्तं युतयोर्यौतकमिति निघण्टुक्ते-
 रिति मदनः । अन्वाधेयादिभिर्ज्ञे पूर्वोक्ते पारिभाषिके स्त्रीधने तु विशेषमाह
 गौतमः । (गौ० ध० सू० २८-२२) स्त्रीधनं दुहितृणामप्रप्तानामप्रतिष्ठितानां
 चेति ब्राह्मणी कन्या तु सपत्नीमातुरपि धनं गृह्णीयात् इत्याह मनुः—

स्त्रियास्तु यद्भवेद्वित्तं पित्रा दत्तं कथंचन ।
 ब्राह्मणी तद्धरत्कन्या तदपत्यस्य वा भवेत् ॥
 वाकारश्चार्थः । तेन विभज्येति लभ्यते । ब्राह्मणीपदं समोत्तमजाति-
 कन्योपलक्षकमिति केचित् । मानं तत्र चिन्त्यम् । दुहितृणामभावे दुहितृ-
 संततिः । 'मातुर्दुहितरोऽभावे दुहितृणां तदन्वयः । इति नारदोक्तेः । भिक्ष-

मातृकाणां दुहितृणां दौहित्राणां च । 'अनेकपितृकाणां तु पितृतो भागकल्पना'
(या० २-१२०) इति न्यायेनांशकल्पना । यत्तु याज्ञवल्क्यः—

मातृदुहितरः शेषमिति तत्राप्यन्वयपदं कन्यासंततिपरमिति केचित् । परं
तु दुहितृभावे पुत्रा एव गृह्णीयुः । नारदीये तदा मातुरेव परामर्शादित्याहुः ।
आचारसंवादी चायं पक्षः । शेषमृणादिति ऋणसमं तन्न्यूनं वा पुत्रा एव
गृह्णीयुरिति सांप्रदायिकाः । दुहित्रादीनामभावे पुत्रपौत्राद्या गृह्णीयुः । अयं
दुहित्रादीनां मातृधनाधिकारः पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधन एव । तेन पूर्वोक्तानि
स्त्रीधनपदविशिष्टानि वचांसि पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधनपराण्येव । तेन पारिभाषि-
कातिरिक्तं स्त्रीधनं (मातृधनं) दुहितृसत्त्वेऽपि पुत्रादय एव लभेरन् । उभय-
विधसंतत्यभावे तु पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधनं प्रकृत्य विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

अतीतायामप्रजसि बान्धवास्तदवाप्नुयुः ।

विवाहभेदेन बान्धवव्यवस्थामाह—

अप्रजः स्त्रीधनं भर्तुर्ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्वर्षि ।

दुहितृणां प्रसूता चेत् शेषेषु पितृगामि तत् ॥

ब्राह्मादिषु चतुर्वर्षीति विप्रपरम् । तेषामेव तं प्रति धर्म्यत्वात् । यस्य तु
क्षत्रियादृगान्धर्वोऽपि धर्म्यस्तस्य तदूढाधनमपि भर्तुरेव । तथा च मनुः—

ब्राह्मदैवार्षगान्धर्वप्राजापत्येषु यद्धनम् ।

अतीतायामप्रजसि भर्तुरेव तदिष्यते ।

यत्त्वस्यै स्याद्धनं क्त्वं विवाहेष्वासुरादिषु ।

अतीतायामप्रजसि मातापित्रोस्तादिष्यते ॥

ब्राह्मादिविवाहेषु भर्तुरभाव आसुरादिषु च पित्रोरभावे पारिभाषिकस्त्रीधने-
ऽधिकारिण आह बृहस्पतिः—

मातृष्वसा मातुलानी पितृव्यस्त्री पितृष्वसा ।

श्वश्रूः पूर्वजपत्नी च मातृतुल्याः प्रकीर्तिताः ॥

यदासामरिसां न स्यात् सुतो दौहित्र एव वा ।

तत्सुतो वा धनं तासां स्वस्तीयाद्याः समप्नुयुः ॥

दुहितृदौहित्रयोरप्यभावोऽत्र बोध्यः । तदभाव एवौरसदौहित्रयोरधिकारात् ।
आसुरादिविवाहेषु बन्धुदत्तेषु कात्यायनः—

बन्धुदत्तं तु बन्धूनामभावे पुत्रगामि तत् ।

शुल्कविषये तु गौतमः—' भगिनीशुल्कं सोदर्याणामूर्ध्वं मातुः । ' इति । यत्तु
शङ्खः—शुल्कं च स्वयं वोढेति तद्विवाहात्प्रादः मृतायां बोध्यम् । अत्र
विशेषमाह याज्ञवल्क्यः—

मृतायां दत्तमादद्यात्परिशाध्येभयव्ययम् ।

पूर्वं दत्तं मृतायां कन्यायां स्वस्य तस्याः पितुश्च व्ययादवशिष्टं भर्ता
गृह्णीयादित्यर्थः । क्वचिद्विशेषमाह बोधायनः—

रिवथं मृतायाः कन्याया गृह्णीयुः सोदराः समम् ।

तदभावे तु तन्मातुस्तदभावे पितुर्भवेत् । इति ।

इदं विवाहात् प्राङ् मृतायां वाग्दानकालीनमातामहादिवृत्तालंकाराद्विषय-
मिति साम्प्रदायिकाः । स्त्रीधनविषये मिताक्षराकृन्मतेऽयं विशेषो यत्तैः
स्त्रीधनमिति पदं यौगिकमेव गृह्यते तेन स्त्रियाः धनम्—स्त्रीधनम्— इति
विग्रहेण येन केनाप्युपधिना स्त्रिया लब्धं स्त्रीधनमित्यर्थस्तत्समतः । न च
तैः पूर्वोक्तं पारिभाषिकं तदङ्गीक्रियते । तथा च मिताक्षराकृद्विज्ञानेश्वर-
स्वामिनः स्त्रीविषये करुणामयबुद्ध्याऽऽलोचयन्तीति वक्तुं शक्यम् । तथा च
याज्ञवल्क्यदायभागप्रकरणे—

पितृमातृपतिभ्रातृदत्तमध्यग्न्युपागतम् ।

आधिवेदनिकाद्यं च स्त्रीधनं परिकीर्तितम् ॥ १४३ ॥

इत्यस्य श्लोकस्य टीकायां “ स्त्रीधनशब्दश्च यौगिको न पारिभाषिको योग-
संभवे परिभाषाया अयुक्तत्वात् ” इति मिताक्षराग्रन्थः ।

इति पञ्चमव्याख्यानं समाप्तम् ।

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